ONGRESSIONAL DIGEST.

THE PRO AND CON MONTHLY

February, 1932

2

Tribute to George Washington Important Dates in His Career

Washington - -

His Understanding of Congress His Advice for Congress Today His Famous Rules of Conduct

Congress and - The Bi-Centennial Celebration



News of the Month in Congress The Subscriber's Question Box Beginning: Series of Articles, How Uncle Sam's Laws are Made





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CONGRESSIONAL DIGEST

Vol. XI No. 2 FEBRUARY, 1952

- Tribute to Washington -

In dedicating the Congressional Digest for February, 1932, to George Washington, the editors have sought to focus attention on Washington's contact with the Congress—his conception of its duties, rights and powers; and the wisdom he exercised in shaping its creation under the Constitution of the United States.

Wherever possible Washington's own words have been used to set forth his conclusions concerning the Congress. His definitely expressed views on national problems confronting Congress at present are as applicable today as they were when they were uttered more than 100 years ago.

Washington's now famous "Rules of Civility" are printed in their entirety for both adult and youth to cherish. They speak for themselves.

In presenting this all too brief tribute to the "Father of our Congress" there are obviously no pros and cons to offer. Next month, however, The Congressional Digest will resume the regular pro and con columns identified with its content.

George Washington - - Father and Mother of

His Country

by N. T. N. Robinson

ago there stirred in the breast of a fourteen-year-old boy living on the banks of the Rappahannock River, near Fredericksburg, in the British colony of Virginia, a yearning for the sea. Moved by the naval activities of an older brother, the boy plead with his mother to be allowed to join the British navy.

Consent was given but, after his scant supply of clothing had been packed and he was ready to embark, there came from one of the mother's relatives in England a letter advising against the career chosen by the boy.

At the eleventh hour, the mother withdrew her consent, and the disappointed, but dutiful youth returned to the home of his mother. The vessel which was to have taken him sailed down the river to the sea without him.

Who will venture to say what would eventually have happened to the American Colonies had that mother not made her eleventh-hour reversal of decision?

For that mother was Mary Ball Washington and the fourteen-year-old youth was George Washington.

Known as the Father of His Country, this man were even better called the Father-Mother of His Country. For not only did he sire it as Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armies, but after its birth he nursed it and brought it along through the first eight years of its actual existence with a self-sacrificing devotion unparalleled in human history.

In his poignantly beautiful literary labor of love, "The Seven Ages of Washington," Owen Wister gives to Washington Irving credit for being the first to begin "the unfreezing of Washington." Later writers followed his lead until George Washington, from being a figure of well-nigh unbelievable austerity and coldness, as set forth by earlier historians, is gradually appearing to the thought of the present generation in a likeness which, if not yet commensurate with the magnitude of the man, is, as far as it goes, accurate.

It is curiously true that everyone who begins, with an open mind, the study of George Washington soon becomes utterly entranced with the subject. The deeper he delves into the authentic and unquestionable records, the more profound does his admiration of the character and achievements of the man become.

He finds one, who as a youth arrived at the ineradicable conviction that his duty should always be obeyed regardless of his desires, and who, at seventeen years of age, was a qualified and licensed public surveyor, earning his own living. At nineteen years of age he was military inspector with the rank of major, protecting the Virginia western frontier against Indians; at twenty-three, aide to the British General, Braddock, and a veteran soldier; at twenty-six an elected member of the Virginia House

of Burgesses; at forty-two a member of the Continental Congress; at forty-three Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Army; at fifty-five president of the Constitutional Convention, and at fifty-seven President of the United States.

And, in the meantime, he had become the most successful and progressive farmer in Virginia and one of the leading business men of his country. With meager schooling to begin with he so well educated himself that Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart says of him:

"It is not an over-statement to say that Washington was the best educated man in the United States of his day."

Commenting on the criticisms by his contemporaries of Washington's literary style, Owen Wister, in "The Seven Ages of Washington" says:

"Jefferson and Hamilton fell dupe to a very human instinct—they wanted to find something they could do better than he (Washington) could, and they picked out his English style. They were quite mistaken. While these collateral fathers of the country could spell words better than Washington, use better they could not. No better prose than his was written, when he took time to it."

Except for his early candidacy for the Virginia House of Burgesses, he never sought public office. All subsequent offices held by him were thrust upon him by his fellow citizens because in each instance his qualifications were so far superior to those of other men that his selection was inevitable. He is the only man in American history to receive all the votes of the Electoral College for President.

While in command of the Virginia border troops as a young man he had had occasion to utter drastic criticism of the tavern keepers of Winchester because the drunkeness of his soldiers in that town had caused him trouble. He referred to them as "Tippling Housekeepers." Shortly thereafter, when he, for the first time, became a candidate for elective office and ran for the House of Burgesses, the "Tippling Housekeepers" successfully opposed him and brought about his defeat.

This only defeat for office he ever suffered was due to the opposition of the whiskey interests and he was again to be opposed by them while President, when the Whiskey Rebellion occurred in Pennsylvania. This he put down abruptly.

Time and again only the character, sagacity, patience and force of Washington stood between the new American Republic and disaster. None but a Divinely inspired man could have done what he did. At one time he might have been made king, but unlike the dictators of later years—the Napoleons, the Lenins, the Mussolinis, the Stalirs—his aims were never tinged with personal ambition, nor the desire for personal domination.

He was reluctant to accept command of the Revolu-

tionary forces because he doubted his own adequacy to the task. When called to the Presidency he accepted, while yearning to remain on his Virginia farm. He left Mount Vernon for New York on April 16 to be inaugurated President, with feelings, as he wrote, "not unlike those of a culprit, who is going to the place of his execution."

An incident given by Wister gives an illuminating glimpse of how Washington was regarded by those who shared dangers with him. In the winter of 1782, after the surrender at Yorktown and before peace had finally been concluded, the Colonial troops, led on by Gates, threatened mutiny because Congress had not appropriated money for their pay. Congress called upon Washington

to deal with the troops. He sympathized with the troops, but felt it his duty to prevent the mutiny. Wister writes:

"There was an hour set for him to meet them, and silence, instead of shouts, was their greeting to him. He had a written address prepared, but on rising to begin it, the text was dim to his eyes, and as he felt for his glasses in that moment during which his own influence and perhaps the country's fate trembled, he spoke simply to the gathered and sullen soldiers the first words that came to him: 'I have not only grown gray but blind in your service.' By this unpremeditated touch of nature the whole trouble was melted away, the formal address was needless, tears came to the men's cheeks, and they were willing to be patient for their leader's sake."

Guide to Important Dates in Washington's Career

1657—Emigration of John and Lawrence Washington to Virginia.

1694—Augustine Washington, father of George Washington, born.

1732—February 22, George Washington born in Westmoreland County, Virginia.

1733-4—Family moved to the farm now known as Mount Vernon (age, 1-2).

1743—April 12, death of Augustine Washington. George sent to live with his half-brother Augustine at birthplace (age, 11).

1743-5—Mansion built and named Mount Vernon by his half-brother Lawrence.

1745—He returned to live with his mother at Fredericksburg. (School, age, 13).

1746—At his mother's request gave up entering the navy (age, 14).

1748—March 11. Became surveyor for Lord Fairfax (age, 16).

1749-Appointed public surveyor (age 17).

1751—Military inspector with rank of Major to protect Virginia frontier against French and Indians (age, 19).

September. Journey with invalid brother Lawrence to Barbadoes (age, 19).

1752—Adjutant-general. Sept. 26. Mount Vernon left him by Lawrence (age, 20).

1753—Mission to the frontier. Venango, Duquesne (age, 21).

1754—Lieutenant-colonel. Great Meadows campaign. Venango, Duquesne, Ill health. Sojourns at Mount Vernon (age, 22).

1755—Aide-de-camp to General Braddock. Venango, Duquesne. Commander-in-chief of the Virginia forces (age, 23).

1756—Military mission to New York and Boston (age, 24).

1758—Ill health. Courtship. March to the Ohio. Resigned commission (age, 26).

1759—January 6. Married to Martha Dandridge Custis (age, 26).

May. Took seat in House of Burgesses (Virginia) (age, 27).

1765—Commissioner for settling the military accounts of the colony (age, 33).

1770-Journey to the Ohio and Kenawha rivers (age, 38).

1774—Member of the Virginia Convention on the points at issue between England and the Colonies (age, 42).

September. Member of the First Continental Congress (age, 42).

1775—May 10. Member of the Second Continental Congress. June 15, Made Commander-in-chief of Colonial Army. July 3, took command at Cambridge. Siege of Boston (age, 43).

1776—March 17. Boston evacuated by British. Aug. 27, Battle of Long Island. Dec. 26, Battle of Trenton. Dec. 27, Invested by Congress with dictatorial powers (age, 44).

1777—January 3, Battle of Princeton. Winter quarters at Morristown. September 11, Battle of Brandywine. October 4, Battle of Germantown (age, 44-45).

1778—Winter quarters at Valley Forge. Conway Cabal. June 28, Battle of Monmouth Courthouse. Arrival of d'Estaing. Winter quarters at Middlebrook (age, 45-46).

1779-July 16. Capture of Stony Point (age, 47).

1780-Arnold's treason (age, 48).

1781—January 1, Pennsylvania troops mutiny. October 19, Surrender of Cornwallis at Yorktown (age, 49).

1782—Threatening sedition of army and talk of dictator (age, 50).

1783—April 19, Peace proclaimed to the army. December 4, His farewell to his generals. December 23, He resigned his commission at Annapolis. December 24, Home to Mount Vernon (age, 51).

1784—Journey to the western country (age, 52).

1787—May 14, Delegate to Constitutional Convention at Philadelphia; President of the Convention (age, 55).

1789—President of the United States. April 30, Inaugurated in New York. Journey through Eastern States (age, 57).

1791-Journey through Southern States (age, 59).

1793—Second time President of the United States. The episode of Genet, minister from France (age, 61).

1796—September 17, Farewell address to the people of the United States (age, 64).

1797—Home to Mount Vernon. Trouble with France. Preparations for war (age, 65).

1798—July 3. Commander-in-chief of the armies of the United States (age, 66).

1799—December 14, Died at Mount Vernon (age, 67). (From Owen Wister's "The Seven Ages of Washington.)

The Vicissitudes of The Continental Congress





1774-1789

1774. Philadelphia. The First Continental Congress convened in Carpenter's Hall, Philadelphia, September 5, 1774. Delegates from the various Colonies came together thus for the first time, as a result of long friction between the Colonies and England, culminating in the passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament. The purpose of the meeting was to resolve upon common demands upon England which all the Colonies could make together. George Washington was a member of this Congress.

1776. Baltimore. The Declaration of Independence having been made on July 4 of this year, a state of war prevailed between the Colonies and England. By December the near approach of the English troops to Philadelphia caused the delegates to remove to Baltimore.

1777. Philadelphia. The Continental Congress returned to Philadelphia in February of this year.

1777. Lancaster. On September 14 of this year the Congress received news of the approach of the English troops, which caused them to remove hastily to Lancaster. Pa.

1777. York. The Congress remained in Lancaster only until September 30, when it removed to York, Pa.

1778. Philadelphia. On July 2 of this year the Congress returned to Philadelphia and remained there until June 20, 1783.

1783. On June 21 the Congress, under unusual circumstances, removed to Princeton, N. J., where the university buildings were placed at their disposal. The occasion of their removal was the appearance of some mutinous and disorderly soldiers of the Revolution outside of the State House, where they were sitting. The Congress found itself without protection or provision for protection by the State militia. This incident is generally credited with giving impetus to an arrangement for a permanent seat of government with proper conveniences and safeguards.

On October 7, Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, brought in a motion "that buildings for the use of Congress be erected on the banks of the Delaware near Trenton or the Potomac near Georgetown, providing a suitable district can be procured on one of the rivers as aforesaid, for a Federal town, and that the right of soil and an exclusive or such other jurisdiction as Congress may direct shall be vested in the United States." This motion passed with "or on Potomac near Georgetown" stricken out.

On October 20, Mr. Gerry, of Massachusetts, brought in another motion which was passed as follows: "Whereas the resolutions of Congress of the 7th instant to erect buildings for their use at or near the falls of the Delaware are not satisfactory to a respectable part of the United States, five of which on the 8th instant voted for a reconsideration of the resolutions; and whereas Congress have no prospect of a general assent to any one place for their residence, and there is every reason to expect that the providing of buildings for the alternate residence of Congress in two places will be productive of the most salutary effects, by securing the mutual confidence and affections of the States, and preserving the Federal balance of power; it is therefore resolved that buildings be likewise erected for the use of Congress at or near the lower falls of Potomac or Georgetown."

The five States referred to in the motion were Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina and South Carolina. Committees were appointed to visit the respective sites, and report on them.

1783. Annapolis. During the session at Princeton it had been decided, in an attempt to meet the convenience of members from the North and from the South, to alternate the meetings between Annapolis, Md., and Trenton, N. J. The meeting was called at Annapolis for November 15, but it was more than a month before a quorum appeared.

During this session Rhode Island agitated the matter of holding the next session at Newport, but was unsuccessful in doing more than to delay the inspection of the Potomac site by the committee appointed to do so. The question of a permanent site for the residence of Congress was not finally settled until after the adoption of the Constitution.

1784. Trenton. The Continental Congress met at Trenton, N. J., on November 1.

1785. New York. In January Congress accepted an offer from the Mayor and Corporation of New York City of such public buildings in the city as might be necessary for its use. The whole of the City Hall, with the exception of the court and jury rooms, was given over to the Congress. The Continental Congress continued to meet in New York until after the Constitution was ratified and the Congress of the United States came into being, on March 4, 1789.

Washington a

d the Evolution of the U. S. Congress

I. Washington and the Continental Congress

was elected a member of the First Continental Congress which met September 5, 1774. He was elected to the Second Continental Congress in 1775, but served only a short time, being made by that Congress commander-inchief of the Revolutionary Army, thus gaining actual experience of the workings of the Continental Congress as a member and as a military commander who had to call on the Congress to furnish him with men, funds and supplies.

While he was commander-in-chief his relations with the Continental Congress frequently were difficult, principally on account of the refusal of the Congress to accede to his requests for appropriations and enlistments for the army.

His experiences during this period appear to have strengthened his views regarding the necessity for a strong, central government, with a national Congress of adequate powers, as the following extracts from his writings indicate:

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Need for Unity "Certain I am, unless Congress speak in a more decisive tone, unless they are vested with powers by the several States competent to the great purposes of war, or assume them as matter of right, and they and the States respectively act with more energy than they hitherto have done, that our cause is lost. We can no longer drudge on in the old way. By ill timing the adoption of measures, by delays in the execution of them, or by unwarrantable jealousies, we incur enormous expenses and derive no benefit from them. One State will comply with a requisition of Congress; another neglects to do it; a third executes it by halves; and all differ either in the manner, the matter, or so much in point of time, that we are always working up hill, and ever shall be; and, while such a system as the present one or rather want of one prevails, we shall ever be unable to apply our strength or resources to any advantage. This, my dear Sir, is plain language to a member of Congress; but it is the language of truth and friendship. It is the result of long thinking, close application, and strict observation. I see one head gradually changing into thirteen. I see one army branching into thirteen, which, instead of looking up to Congress as the supreme controlling power of the United States, are considering themselves as dependent on their respective States. In a word, I see the powers of Congress declining too fast for the consideration and respect, which are due to them as

the great representative body of America, and I am fearful of the consequences."—Letter to Joseph James, Member of Colonial Congress, May, 1780.



Congress Must Exercise Authority

which at present is but another name for Congress, will no longer do. That honorable body, after hearing the interests and views of the several States fairly discussed and explained by their respective representatives, must dictate, and not merely recommend and leave it to the States afterward to do as they please, which, as I have observed before, is in many cases to do nothing at all."—

Letter to John Parke Custis, 1781.



"What, my dear Powers of Congress Sir, could induce the State of Virginia to rescind their assent to the Impost Law? . . . The Alarm Bell which has been rung with such tremendous sound of the danger of entrusting Congress with the money is too selfish & futile to require a serious answer—Who are Congress, but the People?—do they not return to them at certain short periods?—Are they not amenable at all times to them for their Conduct—& subject to recal!?—What interests therefore can a man have under these circumstances distinct from his Constituents?—Can it be supposed, that with design, he would form a junto or dan-gerous Aristocracy that would operate against himself in less than a Month perhaps after it should be established?-I can have no conception of it. But from the observations I have made in the course of this war-and my intercourse with the States both in their united and separate capacities have afforded ample opportunities of judging-I am decidedly of opinion that if the Powers of Congress are not enlarged, and made competent to all general purposes that the blood that has been spilt—the Expenses which have been incurred—and the distresses which we have undergone will avail us nothing—and that the band which at present holds us together, by a very feeble thread, will soon be broken when anarchy & confusion must ensue."—Letter to Benjamin Harrison, March 4, 1783.



Congress Justified

"The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States...will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies;... make those mutual concessions, which are requisite to the general prosperity;

and, in some instances, . . . sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community. . . .

"... Unless the States will suffer Congress to exercise those prerogatives they are undoubtedly invested with by the constitution,* every thing must very rapidly tend to anarchy and confusion... It is indispensable to the happiness of the individual States, that there should be lodged somewhere a supreme power to regulate and govern the general concerns of the confederated republic, without which the Union cannot be of long duration... There must be a faithful and pointed compliance, on the part of every State, with the late proposals and demands of Congress, or the most fatal consequences will ensue... It is only in our united character, as an empire, that our independence is acknowledged, that our power can be regarded, or our credit supported, among foreign nations. The treaties of the European powers with the United States of America will have no validity on a dissolution of the Union...

"If, after all, a spirit of disunion, or a temper of obstinacy and perverseness should manifest itself in any of the States; if such an ungracious disposition should attempt to frustrate all the happy effects that might be expected to flow from the Union; if there should be a refusal to comply with the requisition for funds to discharge the annual interest of the public debts; and if that refusal should revive again all those jealousies, and produce all those evils, which are now happily removed, Congress, who have, in all their transactions, shown a great degree of magnanimity and justice, will stand justified in the sight of God and man; and the State alone, which puts itself in opposition to the aggregate wisdom of the continent, and follows such mistaken and pernicious counsels, will be responsible for all the consequences."—Circular Letter to States, June 8, 1783.

II. Washington and the Constitutional Convention

George Washington of plans to develop navigation between the east and the west in the interests of trade and political unity led to the calling of the convention which framed the Constitution of the United States.

Always an ardent and uncompromising advocate of union of the Colonies, Washington, as early as 1772, while a member of the Virginia House of Burgesses, put through a bill for the improvement of the Potomac River up to what is now Cumberland, Maryland, for the purpose of connecting the Atlantic seaboard with the western frontier in Pennsylvania. A commission to look into the question was authorized but nothing ever came of it, yet this move of Washington's proved, in the end, to be the genesis of the Constitutional Convention.

Thirteen years later when he had fought the Revolutionary war and had retired to private life, Washington, in 1785, made a trip to Pennsylvania and returned more convinced than ever of the economic and political necessity of tying the eastern and western states together with water transportation, not only for the sake of trade but for the sake of political unity as well.

Previously, in 1784, Washington was a member of a Virginia Commission appointed to meet with a similar commission from Maryland to work out an agreement for navigation laws for the Potomac, the boundary line between the two states, Washington went to Cambridge, Maryland, and pointed out the value of developing trade with the western states. An agreement was finally reached, signed at Mount Vernon, and ratified by the legislatures of the two States.

During the discussions of the agreement in the Maryland and Virginia legislatures, the idea of general agreement among all the states was growing, as the result of Washington's influence. In November, 1785, Maryland asked for further conferences and proposed the inclusion of Pennsylvania and Delaware. The Virginia legislature, on January 21, 1786, issued an invitation to all the states to join in a general conference.

Only five states responded, however, meeting in Annapolis, Maryland, in September, 1786. They were Virginia, Maryland, Pennsylvania, Delaware and New York. The scope of the discussion broadened beyond the questions of trade and waterway development and Alexander Hamilton, a delegate from New York, proposed that a new convention be called to meet in Philadelphia in May, 1786. All the states were invited and accepted and the Constitutional Convention came into being.

At first Washington, although hoping for the best, was not certain of the outcome of the convention. He delayed accepting his appointment as delegate from Virginia because he did not wish to be accused, because of his great, personal prestige, of seeking to overemphasize his own views as to the need of a central government.

He finally accepted and, on May 25, 1787, when the quorum of the delegates arrived and, the convention met, was unanimously elected President. The proceedings were all secret and Washington deliberately left out of his diary all mention of them.

A tradition has it that one member of the convention one day lost his copy of the proceedings. It was fortunately found by another delegate and handed in to the President. Washington's criticism of the carelessness of the owner of the copy was so severe that the papers were never reclaimed.

Washington was reported afterward by his contemporaries to have made occasional brief speeches of encouragement during dark periods of the convention. His only known votes were those in favor of a single executive; against the election of the President of the United States by Congress; for the levying of an export tax only by two-thirds vote of Congress; for making the Constitution binding by the ratification by seven states; and against the overruling of a Presidential veto by a two-thirds vote of Congress.

His work for the establishment of the American Republic did not end with the Constitutional Convention but continued during the ratification campaign. The fact that he was to be chosen the first President brought widespread public confidence in the proposed new government and was one of the principal factors in the success of efforts of ratification.

His views on the above observations are clearly set forth in the following quotations from his letters:

Transportation and Political Unity

"My attention is . . . engaged in a project, which I think big with great political, as well as commercial consequences to these States, especially the middle ones; it is by removing the obstructions and extending the inland navigation of our rivers to bring the States on the Atlantic in close connexion with those forming the westward, by a short and easy transportation. Without this, I can easily conceive they will have different views, separate interests, and other connexions. I may be singular in my ideas, but they are these; that, to open a door to, and make easy the way for, those settlers to the westward (which ought to progress regularly and compactly) before we make any stir about the navigation of the Mississippi, and before our settlements are far advanced towards that river, would be our true line of policy."—
Letter to Col. David Humphreys, Washington's former military aid, July 25, 1785.



Advocates Convention Method

"Thus the matter stands, which is the reason of my saying to you in confidence, that at present I retain my first intention not to go. In the mean while, as I have the fullest conviction of your friendship for and attach-ment to me, know your abilities to judge, and your means of information, I shall receive any communication from you on this subject with thankfulness. My first wish is to do for the best, and to act with propriety. You know me too well to believe, that reserve or concealment of any opinion or circumstance would be at all agreeable to me. The legality of this convention I do not mean to discuss, nor how problematical the issue of it may be. That powers are wanting none can deny. Through what medium they are to be derived will, like other matters, en-gage the attention of the wise. That, which takes the shortest course to obtain them, in my opinion will, under present circumstances, be found best; otherwise, like a house on fire, whilst the most regular mode of extinguishing the flames is contended for, the building is reduced to ashes. My opinion of the energetic wants of the federal government are well known. My public annunciations and private declarations have uniformly expressed these sentiments; and, however constitutional it may be for Congress to point out the defects of the federal system, I am strongly inclined to believe, that it would not be found the most efficacious channel for the recommendations, more especially the alterations, to flow, for reasons too obvious to enumerate."-Letter to General Knox, February 3, 1787.



Decision to Attend Convention

"I apprehend too much cause to arraign my conduct with inconsistency in again appearing on a public theatre, after a public declaration to the contrary, and because it will, I fear, have a tendency to sweep me back into the tide of public affairs, when retirement and ease are so essentially necessary for and in so much desired by me. However, as my friends, with a degree of solicitude which is unusual, seem to wish for my attendance on

this occasion, I have come to a resolution to go, if my health will permit."—Letter to Governor Randolph, of Virginia, March 28, 1787.



Expressed

"I very much fear that all the States will not appear in convention, and that some of them will come fettered so as to impede rather than accelerate the great object of their convening; which, under the peculiar circumstances of my case, would place me in a more disagreeable situation than any other member would stand in. As I have yielded, however, to what appeared to be the earnest wishes of my friends, I will hope for the best."—

Letter to Governor Randolph, April 9, 1787.



Hopes Extressed

"It gives me great pleasure to hear, that there is a probability of a full representation of the States in convention; but if the delegates come to it under fetters, the salutary ends proposed will in my opinion be greatly embarrassed and retarded, if not altogether defeated. I am desirous of knowing how this matter is, as my wish is that the convention may adopt no temporizing expedients, but probe the defects of the constitution to the bottom, and provide a radical cure, whether they are agreed to or not. A conduct of this kind will stamp wisdom and dignity on their proceedings, and hold up a light which sooner or later will have its influence."—Letter to James Madison, March 31, 1787.



The Final Session

"Monday [Sept.] 17th. Met in Convention, when the Constitution received the unanimous assent of 11 States and Colo. Hamilton's from New York (the only delegate from thence in Convention), and was subscribed to by every Member present except Govr. Randolph and Colo. Mason from Virginia, and Mr. Gerry from Massachusetts.

"The business being thus closed, the Members adjourned to the City Tavern, dined together and took a cordial leave of each other; after which I returned to my lodgings, did some business with, and received the papers from the Secretary of the Convention, and retired to meditate on the momentous worlk which had been executed, after not less than five, for a large part of the time Six, and sometimes 7 hours sitting every day, [except] sundays and the ten days adjournment to give a comee. opportunity and time to arrange the business, for more than four months."—From Washington's Diary, September 17, 1787.



Opposed to Reopening Convention

"The various passions and motives, by which men are influenced, are concomitants of fallibility, engrafted into

our nature for the purposes of unerring wisdom; but, had I entertained a latent hope, (at the time you moved to have the constitution submitted to a second convention,) that a more perfect form would be agreed to, in a word, that any constitution would be adopted under the impressions and instructions of the members, the publications, which have taken place since, would have eradicated every form of it. How do the sentiments of the influential characters in this State, who are opposed to the constitution, and have favored the public with their opinions, quadrate with each other? Are they not at variance on some of the most important points? opponents in the same State cannot agree in their principles, what prospect is there of a coalescence with the advocates of the measure, when the different views and jarring interests of so wide and extended an empire are to be brought forward or combated? To my judgment it is more clear than ever, that an attempt to amend the constitution, which is submitted, would be productive of more heat and greater confusion than can well be conceived."-Letter to Governor Randolph, January 8, 1788.

5

"A Miracle"

"It appears to me, then, little short of a miracle, that the delegates from so many different States (which States you know are also different from each other), in their manners, circumstances, and prejudices, should unite in forming a system of national government, so little liable to well-founded objections. . . With regard to the two great points (the pivots upon which the whole machine must move) my creed is simply,

"1st. That the general government is not invested with more powers, than are indispensable necessary to perform the functions of a good government; and consequently, that no objection ought to be made against the quantity of power delegated to it.

"2ly. That these powers, (as the appointment of all rulers will for ever arise from, and at short, stated intervals recur to, the free suffrage of the people), are so distributed among the legislative, executive, and judicial branches, into which the general government is arranged, that it can never be in danger of degenerating into a monarchy, an oligarchy, an aristocracy, or any other despotic or oppressive form, so long as there shall remain any virtue in the body of the people.

"I would not be understood, my dear Marquis, to speak of consequences, which may be produced in the revolution of ages, by corruption of morals, profligacy of manners, and listlessness for the preservation of the natural and unalienable rights of mankind, nor of the successful usurpations, that may be established at such an unpropitious juncture upon the ruins of liberty, however providently guarded and secured; as these are contingencies against which no human prudence can effectually provide. It will at least be a recommendation to the proposed constitution, that it is provided with more checks and barriers against the introduction of tyranny, and those of a nature less liable to be surmounted, than any government hitherto instituted among mortals hath possessed. We are not to expect perfection in this world; but mankind, in modern times, have apparently made some progress in the science of government. Should that, which is now offered to the people of America, be found on experiment less perfect than it can be made.

a constitutional door is left open for its amelioration."— Letter to Lafayette, February 7, 1788.

III. Washington and the Congress of the United States

G EORGE WASHINGTON'S experience with the Continental Congress caused him to arrive at definite conclusions as to the powers an effective National Congress should possess and exercise.

He was elected a member of the First Continental Congress and took his seat in September, 1774. He was elected to the Second Continental Congress, serving from May 10 to June 15, 1776, when he was chosen by that Congress to be Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary forces.

Throughout the Revolution he had constantly to deal with the Continental Congress to which he had to look for money, supplies and levies of soldiers. Some of these experiences were disheartening and Washington was particularly impressed with the lack of the proper authority of the Continental Congress to force the states to comply with its actions. Its constant political bickerings were also a source of annoyance and disgust to him.

Consequently, in his later work in helping frame the Constitution of the United States, Washington was an ardent and effective advocate of a strong national legislative body.

When he became President he had behind him a thorough experience with the workings of legislative bodies of the various states and their relationship to the executive officers of those states and out of that experience grew his conviction that the different powers of the legislative and executive branches of the Federal government should be clearly defined and that neither should encroach upon the prerogatives of the other.

George Washington was inaugurated first President of the United States on April 30, 1789, the ceremony occurring in public on the portico of the City Hall, New York City, which was being used as the Federal Building. After taking the oath of office he retired with the members of the Senate and House to the Senate chamber and delivered his inaugural address.

The oath of office was administered by Chancellor Livingston. As the time drew near it was discovered that there was no Bible in the Federal Building. Chancellor Livingston, however, was Grand Master of the Free Masons, and sent to the rooms of St. John's Lodge No. 1, nearby, for the Bible belonging to that lodge and this was used.

George Washington took the oath as prescribed by the Constitution of the United States, Article II, Section 1, Paragraph 7, which reads:

"Before he enter on the Execution of his office, he (the President) shall take the following Oath or Affirmation:—'I do solemnly swear (or affirm) that I will faithfully execute the Office of President of the United States, and will to the best of my Ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States.'"

Washington listened with close attention to the reading

of the oath by Chancellor Livingston and at its conclusion, leaned over, kissed the Bible and, with closed eyes, said:

"I swear, so help me God."

As the first and second Presidents, Washington's dealings with the new Congress of the United States were chiefly in regard to military affairs, Indian affairs and foreign affairs, although, toward the close of his second Administration he urged legislation for the aid of education, agriculture and manufactures.

His annual addresses he read to Congress, himself, but other messages and communications he sent by messenger. At first he met with the Senate and discussed with its members the negotiations of foreign treaties as they progressed, but later, finding this system impracticable.

His first veto message was of a bill reapportioning the membership of the House, which he vetoed on the ground that Congress had exceeded its Constitutional authority. He refused promptly the request of the House for the papers connected with a treaty with England on the ground that the Senate, only, shared authority with the Executive to consider treaties.

In 1793 membership in Congress was divided in its opinion on whether the United States should take sides in the war between Great Britain and France, but Wash-

ington's insistence on neutrality prevailed.

The Federal power to tax was tested by the Whiskey Rebellion in Pennsylvania in 1794, when the distillers refused to pay a whiskey tax imposed by Congress. Washington gathered 15,000 troops from neighboring states and led them to Pennsylvania, whereupon the rebellion promptly collapsed. In a message to Congress on the rebellion Washington cited this incident as evidence that the people of the United States had proven them-selves ready to stand behind the authority of Congress.

Note.-Beginning on page 42 will be found some of Washington's important messages to the people and the Congress of the United States, while he was President.



The First Thanksgiving Proclamation

Whereas it is the duty of all nations to acknowledge the providence of Almighty God, to obey His will, to be grateful for His benefits, and humbly to implore His

protection and favor; and

Whereas, both Houses of Congress have, by their joint committee, requested me "to recommend to the people of the United States a day of public thanksgiving and prayer, to be observed by acknowledging with grateful hearts the many and signal favors of Almighty God, especially by affording them an opportunity peaceably to establish a form of government for their safety and happiness:"

Now, therefore, I do recommend and assign Thursday, the 26th Day of November next, to be devoted by the people of these States to the service of that great and glorious Being who is the beneficient author of all the

good that was, that is, or that will be; that we may then all unite in rendering unto Him our sincere and humble thanks for His kind care and protection of the people of this country previous to their becoming a nation; for the signal and manifold mercies and the favorable interpositions of His providence in the course and conclusion of the late war; for the great degree of tranquility, union and plenty which we have since enjoyed; for the peaceable and rational manner in which we have been enabled to establish constitutions of government for our safety and happiness, and particularly the national one now lately instituted; for the civil and religious liberty with which we are blessed, and the means we have of acquiring and diffusing useful knowledge; and, in general, for all the great and various favors which He has been pleased to confer upon us.

And also that we may then unite in most humbly offering our prayers and supplications to the great Lord and Ruler of Nations, and beseech Him to pardon our national and other transgressions; to enable us all, whether in public or private stations, to perform our several and relative duties properly and punctually; to render our National Government a blessing to all the people by constantly being a Government of wise, just and constitutional laws, discreetly and faithfully executed and obeyed; to protect and guide all sovereigns and nations (especially such as have shown kindness to us), and to bless them with good governments, peace, and concord; to promote the knowledge and practice of true religion and virtue, and the increase of science among them and us; and, generally, to grant unto all mankind such a degree of temporal prosperity as He alone knows to be best.

Given under my hand, at the city of New York, the 3d day of October, A. D. 1789.

Go WASHINGTON.



Washington's First Veto Message

Gentlemen of the House of Representatives:

I have maturely considered the act passed by the two Houses entitled "An Act for an apportionment of Representatives among the several States according to the first enumeration," and I return it to your House, wherein it originated, with the following objections:

First. The Constitution has prescribed that Representatives shall be apportioned among the several States according to their respective numbers, and there is no one proportion or divisor which, applied to the respective numbers of the States, will yield the number and allotment of representatives proposed by the bill.

Second. The Constitution has also provided that the number of Representatives shall not exceed 1 for every 30,000, which restriction is by the context and by fair and obvious construction to be applied to the separate and respective numbers of the States; and the bill has allotted to eight of the States more than 1 for every 30,000.

> Go WASHINGTON. April 5, 1792.

Washington's Advice on Important Problems Confronting Congress Today

Foreign Relations

OBSERVE good faith and justice towards all Nations. Cultivate peace and harmony with all. Religion and Morality enjoin this conduct; and can it be that good policy does not equally enjoin it? It will be worthy of a free, enlightened, and, at no distant period, a great nation, to give to mankind the magnanimous and too novel example of a People always guided by an exalted justice and benevolence. Who can doubt that in the course of time and things, the fruits of such a plan would richly repay any temporary advantages, which might be lost by a steady adherence to it? Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a Nation with its virtue? The experiment, at least, is recommended by every sentiment which ennobles human nature. Alas! is it rendered impossible by its vices?

In the execution of such a plan nothing is more essential than that permanent, inveterate antipathies against particular nations and passionate attachments for others should be excluded; and that in place of them just and amicable feelings towards all should be cultivated. The Nation, which indulges towards another an habitual hatred or an habitual fondness, is in some degree a slave. It is a slave to its animosity or to its affection, either of which is sufficient to lead it astray from its duty and its interest. Antipathy in one nation against another disposes each more readily to offer insult and injury, to lay hold of slight causes of unbrage, and to be haughty and intractable, when accidental or trifling occasions of dispute occur. Hence frequent collisions, obstinate, en-venomed and bloody contests. The Nation prompted by ill-will and resentment sometimes impels to War the Government, contrary to the best calculations of policy. The Government sometimes participates in the national propensity, and adopts through passion what reason would reject; at other times, it makes the animosity of the Nation subservient to projects of hostility instigated by pride, ambition, and other sinister and pernicious motives. The peace often, sometimes perhaps the Liberty, of Nations has been the victim.

So likewise a passionate attachment of one Nation for another produces a variety of evils. Sympathy for the favourite nation, facilitating the illusion of an imaginary common interest in cases where no real common interest exists, and infusing into one the enmities of the other, betrays the former into a participation in the quarrels and wars of the latter, without adequate inducement or justification; it leads also to concessions to the favourite Nation of privileges denied to others, which is apt doubly to injure the Nation making the concessions; by unneces-sarily parting with what ought to have been retained, and by exciting jealousy, ill-will, and a disposition to retaliate, in the parties from whom equal privileges are withheld; and it gives to ambitious, corrupted or deluded citizens, (who devote themselves to the favourite Nation) facility to betray, or sacrifice the interests of their own country, without odium, sometimes even with popularity: gilding with the appearance of a virtuous sense of obligation, a commendable deference for public opinion, or a laudable zeal for public good, the base or foolish compliances of ambition, corruption or infatuation.

As avenues to foreign influence in innumerable ways, such attachments are particularly alarming to the truly enlightened and independent Patriot. How many opportunities do they afford to tamper with domestic factions, to practice the arts of seduction, to mislead public opinion, to influence or awe the public councils! Such an attachment of a small or weak, towards a great and powerful nation, dooms the former to be the satellite of the latter.

Against the insidious wiles of foreign influence, I conjure you to believe me, fellow-citizens, the jealousy of a free people ought to be constantly awake, since history and experience prove that foreign influence is one of the most baneful foes of republican Government. But that jealousy to be useful, must be impartial; else it becomes the instrument of the very influence to be avoided, instead of a defence against it. Excessive partiality for one foreign nation and excessive dislike of another, cause those whom they actuate to see danger only on one side, and serve to veil and even second the arts of influence on the other. Real Patriots, who may resist the intrigues of the favourite, are liable to become suspected and odious; while its tools and dupes usurp the applause and confidence of the people, to surrender their interests.

The great rule of conduct for us, in regard to foreign Nations, is, in extending our commercial relations, to have with them as little Political connection as possible. So far as we have already formed engagements, let them be fulfilled with perfect good faith. Here let us stop.

Europe has a set of primary interests, which to us have none, or a very remote relation. Hence she must be engaged in frequent controversies, the causes of which are essentially foreign to our concerns. Hence therefore it must be unwise in us to implicate ourselves, by artificial ties in the ordinary vicissitudes of her politics, or the ordinary combinations and collisions of her friendships, or enmities.

Our detached and distant situation invites and enables us to pursue a different course. If we remain one People, under an efficient government, the period is not far off, when we may defy material injury from external annoyance; when we may take such an attitude as will cause the neutrality we may at any time resolve upon to be scrupulously respected. When belligerent nations, under the impossibility of making acquisitions upon us, will not lightly hazard the giving us provocation when we may choose peace or war, as our interest guided by our justice shall counsel.

Why forego the advantages of so peculiar a situation? Why quit our own to stand upon foreign ground? Why, by interweaving our destiny with that of any part of Europe, entangle our peace and prosperity in the toils of European ambition, rivalship, interest, humour, or caprice?

Tis our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances, with any portion of the foreign world; so far, I mean, as we are now at liberty to do it for let me not be understood as capable or patronizing infidelity to existing engagements, (I hold the maxim no less applicable to public than to private affairs, honesty is always the best policy.) I repeat it therefore let those engagements be observed in their genuine sense. But in my opinion it is unnecessary and would be unwise to extend them.

Taking care always to keep ourselves, by suitable establishments, on a respectably defensive posture, we may safely trust to temporary alliances for extraordinary emergencies.

Harmony, liberal intercourse with all nations, are recommended by policy, humanity, and interest. But even our commercial policy should hold an equal and impartial hand: neither seeking nor granting exclusive favors or preferences; consulting the natural course of things; diffusing and diversifying by gentle means the streams of commerce, but forcing nothing; establishing with Powers so disposed in order to give trade a stable course, to define the rights of our Merchants, and to enable the Government to support them, conventional rules of intercourse, the best that present circumstances and mutual opinion will permit; but temporary, and liable to be from time to time abandoned or varied, as experience and circumstances shall dictate; constantly keeping in view that 'tis folly in one nation to look for disinterested favors from another; that it must pay with a portion of its independence for whatever it may accept under that character that by such acceptance, it may place itself in the condition of having given equivalents for nominal favours and yet of being reproached with ingratitude for not giving more. There can be no greater error than to expect, or calculate upon real favours from Nation to Nation. 'Tis an illusion which experience must cure, which a just pride ought to discard.

In offering to you, my Countrymen, these counsels of an old and affectionate friend, I dare not hope they will make the strong and lasting impression, I could wish, that the will controul the usual current of the passions, or prevent our Nation from running the course which has hitherto marked the destiny of Nations. But if I may even flatter myself, that they may be productive of some partial benefit; some occasional good; that they may now and then recur to moderate the fury of party spirit, to warn against the mischiefs of foreign intrigue, to guard against the impostures of pretended patriotism, this hope will be a full recompense for the solicitude for your welfare, by which they have been dictated.

How far in the discharge of my official duties, I have been guided by the principles which have been delineated, the public Records and other evidences of my conduct must witness to You, and to the world. To myself the assurance of my own conscience is, that I have at least believed myself to be guided by them.—Farewell Address.

Taxation

As a very important source of strength and security, cherish public credit. One method of preserving it is to use it as sparingly as possible: avoiding occasions of expense by cultivating peace, but remembering also that timely disbursements to prepare for danger frequently prevent much greater disbursements to repel it avoiding likewise the accumulation of debt, not only by shunning occasions of expense, but by vigorous exertions in time of Peace to discharge the debts which unavoidable wars may have occasioned, not ungenerously throwing upon posterity the burthern which we ourselves ought to bear. The execution of these maxims belongs to your Representatives, but it is necessary that public opinion should cooperate. To facilitate to them the performance of their duty, it is essential that you should practically bear in mind, that towards the payment of debts there must be Revenue; that to have Revenue there must be taxes, that no taxes can be devised which are not more or less inconvenient and unpleasant, that the intrinsic embarrassment inseparable from the selection of the proper objects (which is always a choice of difficulties) ought to be a decisive motive for a candid construction of the conduct of the Government in making it, and for a spirit of acquiescence in the measures for obtaining Revenue which the public exigencies may at any time dictate.—Farewell Address.

Agriculture

It will not be doubted that with reference either to individual or national welfare agriculture is of primary importance. In proportion as nations advance in population and other circumstances of maturity this truth becomes more apparent, and renders the cultivation of the soil more and more an object of public patronage. Institutions for promoting it grow up, supported by the public purse; and to what object can it be dedicated with greater propriety? Among the means which have been employed to this end none have been attended with greater success than the establishment of boards (composed of proper characters charged with collecting and diffusing information, and enabled by premiums and small pecuniary aids to encourage and assist a spirit of discovery and improvement. This species of establishment contributes doubly to the increase of improvement by stimulating to enterprise and experiment, and by drawing to a common center the results everywhere of individual skill and observation, and spreading them thence over the whole nation. Experience accordingly has shown that they are very cheap instruments of immense national benefits.—Eighth Annual Message to Congress, December 7, 1796.

Manufactures

Congress have repeatedly, and not without success, directed their attention to the encouragement of manufactures. The object is of too much consequence not to insure a continuance of their efforts in every way which shall appear eligible. As a general rule, manufactures on public account are inexpedient; but where the state of things in a country leaves little hope that certain branches of manufacture

will for a great length of time obtain, when these are of a nature essential to the furnishing and equipping of the public force in time of war, are not establishments for procuring them on public account to the extent of the ordinary demand for the public service recommended by strong considerations of national policy as an exception to the general rule? Ought our country to remain in such cases dependent on foreign supply, precarious because liable to be interrupted? If the necessary article should in this mode cost more in time of peace, will not the security and independence thence arising from an ample compensation? Establishment of this sort, commensurate only with the calls of the public service in proportion to the exigencies of the Government, and may even perhaps be made to yield a surplus for the supply of our citizens at large, so as to mitigate the privations from the interruption of their trade. If adopted, the plan ought to exclude all those branches which are already, or likely soon to be, established in the country, in order that there may be no danger of interference with pursuits of individual industry.—Eighth Annual Message to Congress, December 7, 1796.

Navy

To an active external commerce the protection of a naval force is indispensable. This is manifest with regard to wars in which a State is itself a party. But besides this, it is in our own experience that the most sincere neutrality is not a sufficient guard against the depredations of nations at war. To secure respect to a neutral flag requires a naval force organized and ready to vindicate it from insult or aggression. This may even prevent the necessity of going to war by discouraging belligerent powers from committing such violations of the rights of the neutral party as may, first or last, leave no other option. From the best information I have been able to obtain it would seem as if our trade to the Mediterranean without a protecting force will always be insecure and our citizens exposed to the calamities from which numbers of them have but just been relieved.

These considerations invite the United States to look to the means, and to set about the gradual creation of a navy.—Eighth Annual Message to Congress, December 7, 1796.

Law Enforcement

ALL obstructions to the execution of the Laws, all combinations and associations, under whatever plausible character, with the real design to direct, controul, counteract, or awe the regular deliberation and action of the constituted authorities, are destructive of this fundamental principle, and of fatal tendency. They serve to organize faction, to give it an artificial and extraordinary force to put in the place of the delegated will of the Nation, the will of a party; often a small but artful and enterprising minority of the community; and, according to the alternate triumphs of different parties, to make the public administration the mirror of the ill-concerted and incongruous projects of faction, rather than the organ of consistent and wholesome plans digested by common councils, and modified

by mutual interests. However combinations or associations of the above description may now and then answer popular ends, they are likely, in the course of time and things, to become potent engines, by which cunning, ambitious, and unprincipled men will be enabled to subvert the Power of the People and to usurp for themselves the reins of Government; destroying afterwards the very engines, which have lifted them to unjust dominion.— Farewell Address.

Preserve the Constitution

Towards the preservation of your Government and the permanency of your present happy state, it is requisite, not only that you steadily discountenance irregular oppositions to its acknowledged authority, but also that you resist with care the spirit of innovation upon its principles, however specious the pretexts. One method of assault may be to effect, in the forms of the Constitution, alterations which will impair the energy of the system, and thus to undermine what cannot be directly overthrown. In all the changes to which you may be invited, remember that time and habit are at least as necessary to fix the true character of Governments, as of other human institutions that experience is the surest standard, by which to test the real tendency of the existing Constitution of a Country that facility in changes upon the credit of mere hypothesis and opinion exposes to perpetual change, from the endless variety of hypothesis and opinion; and remember, especially that, for the efficient management of your common interests, in a country so extensive as ours, a Government of as much vigor as is consistent with the perfect security of Liberty is indispensable. Liberty itself will find in such a Government, with powers properly distributed and adjusted, its surest Guardian. It is, indeed, little else than a name, where the Government is too feeble to withstand the enterprises of faction, to confine each member of the society within the limits pre-scribed by the laws, and to maintain all in the secure and tranquil enjoyment of the rights of person and propertv.

Preserve Tri-partite Form of Government

It is important, likewise, that the habits of thinking in a free country should inspire caution in those entrusted with its administration, to confine themselves within their respective constitutional spheres; avoiding in the exercise of the powers of one department, to encroach upon another. The spirit of encroachment tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create, whatever the form of government, a real despotism. A just estimate of that love of power, and proneness to abuse it, which predominates in the human heart, is sufficient to satisfy us of the truth of this position. The necessity of reciprocal checks in the exercise of political power, by dividing and distributing it into different depositories, and constituting each the Guardian of the Public Weal against invasions by the others, has been evinced by experiments ancient and modern; some of them in our country and under our own eyes.

To preserve them must be as necessary as to institute them. If in the opinion of the People, the distribution or modification of the Constitutional powers be in any particular wrong, let it be corrected by an amendment in the way which the Constitution designates. But let there be no change by usurpation; for though this, in one instance, may be the instrument of good, it is the customary weapon by which free governments are destroyed. The precedent must always greatly overbalance in permanent evil any partial or transient benefit which the use can at any time yield.—Farewell Address.

Political Parties

mated to you the danger of Parties in the State, with particular reference to the founding of them on Geographical discriminations. Let me now take a more comprehensive view, and warn you in the most solemn manner against the baneful effects of the spirit of Party, generally.

This spirit, unfortunately, is inseparable from our nature, having its root in the strongest passions of the human mind. It exists under different shapes in all Governments, more or less stifled, controuled, or repressed; but, in those of the popular form, it is seen in its greatest rankness, and is truly their worst enemy.

The alternate domination of one faction over another, sharpened by the spirit of revenge natural to party dissension, which in different ages and countries has perpetrated the most horrid enormities, is itself a frightful despotism. But this leads at length to a more formal and permanent despotism. The disorders and miseries, which result, gradually incline the minds of men to seek security and repose in the absolute power of an Individual; and sooner or later the chief of some prevailing faction, more able or more fortunate than his competitors, turns this disposition to the purposes of his own elevation, on the ruins of Public Liberty.

Without looking forward to an extremity of this kind, (which nevertheless ought not to be entirely out of sight), the common and continual mischiefs of the spirit of Party are sufficient to make it the interest and duty of a wise People to discourage and restrain it.

It serves always to distract the Public Councils, and enfeeble the Public administration. It agitates the community with ill founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, forments occasionally riot and insurrection. It opens the doors to foreign influence and corruption, which find a facilitated access to the Government itself through the channels of party passions. Thus the policy and the will of one country, are subjected to the policy and will of another.

There is an opinion that parties in free countries are useful checks upon the Administration of the Government, and serve to keep alive the Spirit of Liberty. This within certain limits is probably true and in Governments of a Monarchial cast, Patriotism may look with indulgence, if not with favour, upon the spirit of party. But in those of the popular character, in Governments purely elective, it is a spirit not to be encouraged. From their natural tendency, it is certain there will always be enough of that spirit for every salutary purpose, and there being constant danger of excess, the effort ought to be, by force

of public opinion, to mitigate and assuage it. A fire not to be quenched; it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming, it should consume.—Farewell Address.

Congress Should Have Freedom of Decision

I AM no friend to institutions, except in local matters, which are wholly or in a great measure confined to the county of the delegates. To me it appears much wiser and more politic to choose able and honest representatives, and leave them, in all national questions to determine from the evidence of reason, and the facts which shall be adduced, when internal and external information is given to them in a collective state. What certainty is there that societies in a corner or remote part of a State can possess that knowledge which is necessary for them to decide on many important questions which may come before an Assembly.

. . What figure then must a delegate Liake, who comes there with his hands tied, and his judgment forestalled.

—Letter to Bushrod Washington, September 31, 1786.

Enlighten Public Opinion

true, that virtue or morality is a necessary spring of popular government. The rule indeed extends with more or less force to every species of Free Government. Who that is a sincere friend to it can look with indifference upon attempts to shake the foundation of the fabric?

Promote, then, as an object of primary importance, institutions for the general diffusion of knowledge. In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it is essential that public opinion should be enlightened.—Forewell Address.

Public Education

As it has always been a source of serious regret with me to see the youth of these United States sent to foreign countries for the purpose of education, often before their minds were formed or they had imbibed any adequate ideas of the happiness of their own, contracting too frequently not only habits of dissipation and extravagance, but principles unfriendly to Republican Governm't and to the true and genuine liberties of mankind, which thereafter are rarely overcome. For these reasons it has been my ardent wish to see a plan devised on a liberal scale which would have a tendency to spread systematic ideas through all parts of this rising Empire, thereby to do away with local attachments and State prejudices as far as the nature of things would, or indeed ought to admit, from our national councils.

Looking anxiously forward to the accomplishment of so desirable an object as this is, (in my estimation) my mind has not been able to contemplate any plan more likely to effect the measure than the establishment of a University in a central part of the United States to which the youth of fortune and talents from all parts thereof might be sent for the completion of their education in all the branches of polite literature in arts and sciences in acquiring knowledge in the principles of Politics and good Government and (as a matter of infinite importance in my judgment) by associating with each other and forming friendships in Juvenile years, be enabled to free themselves in a proper degree from those local prejudices and habitual jealousies which have just been mentioned and which when carried to excess are never failing sources of disquietude to the Public Mind and pregnant of mischievous consequences to this country: Under these impressions so fully dilated.

"Item-I give and bequeath in perpetuity the fifty shares which I hold in the Potomac Company (under the aforesaid Acts of the Legislature of Virginia) towards the endowment of a University to be established within the limits of the District of Columbia, under the auspices of the General Government, if that Government should incline to extend a fostering hand towards it, and until such seminary is established, and the funds arising on these shares shall be required for its support, my further will and desire is that the profit accruing therefrom shall whenever the dividends are made, be laid out in purchasing stock in the Bank of Columbia or some other Bank at the discretion of my Executors, or by the Treasurer of the United States for the time being under the direction of Congress, provided that Honorable body should patronize the measure. And the dividends proceeding from the purchase of such Stock is to be vested in more Stock and so on until a sum adequate to the accomplishment of the object is obtained, of which I have not the smallest doubt before many years pass away, even if no aid or encouragement is given by Legislative authority or from any other source.-Washington's Will.

Essentials to the Well-Beins of America

THERE are four things, which, I humbly conceive, are essential to the well-being, I may even venture to say, to the existence of the United States, as an independent power.

First. An indissoluble union of the States under one federal head.

Secondly. A sacred regard to public justice.

Thirdly. The adoption of a proper peace establishment.

Fourthly. The prevalence of that pacific and friendly disposition among the people of the United States, which will induce them to forget their local prejudices and policies; to make those mutual concessions which are requisite to the general prosperity; and, in some instances, to sacrifice their individual advantages to the interest of the community.

These are the pillars on which the glorious fabric of our independency and national character must be supported. Liberty is the basis; and whoever would dare to sap the foundation, or overturn the structure, under whatever specious pretext he may attempt it, will merit the bitterest execration, and the severest punishment which can be inflicted by his injured country.—Letter to Governors of States on Disbanding of Army, June 8, 1783.

Our Nation Depends on Divine Providence

It would be peculiarly improper to omit in this first official act my fervent supplications to that Almighty Being who rules over the universe, who presides in the councils of nations, and whose providential aids can supply every human defect, that His benediction may consecrate to the liberties and happiness of the people of the United States a Government instituted by themselves for these essential purposes, and may enable every instrument employed in its administration to execute with success the functions allotted to his charge. In tendering this homage to the Great Author of every public and private good, I assure myself that it expresses your sentiments not less than my own, nor those of my fellow-citizens at large less than either. No people can be bound to acknowledge and adore the Invisible Hand which conducts the affairs of men more than those of the United States. Every step by which they have advanced to the character of an independent nation seems to have been distinguished by some token of providential agency; and in the important revolution just accomplished in the system of their united government the tranquil deliberations and voluntary consent of so many distinct communities from which the event has resulted can not be compared with the means by which most governments have been established without some return of pious gratitude, along with an humble anticipation of the future blessings which the past seem to presage. These reflections, arising out of the present crisis, have forced themselves too strongly on my mind to be suppressed. You will join with me, I trust, in thinking that there are none under the influence of which the proceedings of a new and free government can more auspiciously commence.—Extract from First Inaugural Address, New York, April 30, 1789.

Religion and Morality Essential to Political Prosperity

Or all the dispositions and habits, which lead to political prosperity, Religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of Patriotism, who should labour to subvert these great Pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of Men and Citizens. The mere Politician, equally with the pious man, ought to respect and to cherish them. A volume could not trace all their connexions with private and public felicity. Let it simply be asked where is the security for property, for reputation, for life, if the sense of religious obligation desert the oaths, which are the instruments of investigation in Courts of Justice? And let us with caution indulge the supposition, that morality can be maintained without religion. Whatever may be conceded to the influence of refined education on minds of peculiar structure—reason and experience both forbid us to expect, that national morality can prevail in exclusion of religious principle.—Forewell Address.

Washington's Famous "Rules of Civility" - Revealing His Early Desire To Build Character

As a boy, Washington was strong of body, grave of spirit, with a full sense of responsibility, a seeker of knowledge always, and an abiding love of the great outdoors.

His boyhood was a budding promise of the man he was to become—true to the standards and ideals his parents implanted in him; true to the quaintly worded precepts he copied as the guide and rule of his school days and by which he measured his actions; and always true to himself. (Albert Bushnell Hart.)

Rules of Civility and Decent Behavior in Company and Conversation

From a paper found among the early writings of George Washington copied from the original with literal exactness and edited with notes by J. M. Toner, M.D.—1888. The text following is an exact copy from the original manuscript, having been carefully compared with the corrected therefrom, even when errors or omissions are obvious. This book had been nearly destroyed. Every word and letter remaining has been copied and are here given:

- 1. Every Action done in Company, ought to be with Some Sign of Respect, to those that are present.
- 2. When in Company, put not your Hands to any Part of the Body, not usually Discovered.
- 3. Shew Nothing to your Friend that may affright him.
- 4. In the Presence of Others sing not to yourself with a humming Noise, nor Drum, with your Fingers or Feet.
- 5. If you Cough, Sneeze, Sigh, or Yawn, do it not Loud, but Privately; and Speak not in your Yawning, but put Your handkerchcief or Hand before your face and turn aside.
- 6. Sleep not when others Speak, Sit not when others stand, Speak not when you Should hold your Peace, walk not on when others Stop.
- 7. Put not off your Cloths in the presence of Others, nor go out your Chamber half Drest.
- 8. At Play and at Fire its Good Manners to give Place to the last Commer, and affect not to Speak Louder than ordenary.
- Spit not in the Fire, nor Stoop low before it neither Put your Hands into the Flames to warm them, nor Set your Feet upon the Fire especially if there be meat before it.
- 10. When you Sit down, Keep your Feet firm and Even, without putting one on the other or Crossing them.

- 11. Shift not your self in the Sight of others nor Gnaw your nails.
- 12. Shake not the head, Feet, or Legs, rowl not the Eys, lift not one eyebrow higher than the other, wry not the mouth, and bedew no mans face with your Spittle, by appr . . . r him . . . you Speak.
- 13. Kill no Vermin as Fleas, lice ticks &c in the Sight of Others, if you See any filth or thick Spittle put your foot Dexteriously upon it, if it be upon the Cloths of your Companions, Put it off privately, and if it be upon your own Cloths return Thanks to him who puts it off.
- 14. Turn not your Back to others especially in Speaking, Jog not the Table or Desk on which Another reads or writes, lean not upon any one.
- 15. Keep your Nails clean and Short, also your Hands and Teeth Clean, yet without Shewing any great Concern for them.
- 16. Do not Puff up the Cheeks, Loll not out the tongue rub the Hands, or beard, thrust out the lips, or bite them or keep the Lips too open or too Close.
- 17. Be no Flatterer, neither Play with any that delights not to be Play'd Withal.
- 18. Read no Letters, Books, or Papers in Company but when there is a Necessity for the doing of it you must ask leave: come not near the Books or Writings of Another so as to read them unless desired or give your opinion of them unask'd also look not nigh when another is writing a Letter.
- 19. let your Countenance be pleasant but in Serious Matters Somewhat grave.
- 20. The Gestures of the Body must be Suited to the discourse you are upon.
- 21. Reproach none for the Infirmities of Nature, nor Delight to Put them that have in mind thereof.
- 22. Shew not yourself glad at the Misfortune of another though he were your enemy.
- 23. When you see a Crime punished, you may be inwardly Pleased; but always shew Pity to the Suffering Offender.
- . . . too much at any Publick . .
- 25. Superfluous Complements and all Affectation of Ceremony are to be avoided, yet where due they are not to be Neglected.
- 26. In Pulling off your Hat to Persons of Distinction, as Noblemen, Justices, Churchmen &c make a Reverence, bowing more or less according to the Custom of the Better Bred, and Quality of the Persons Amongst your equals expect not always that they Should begin with you first, but to Pull off the Hat when there is no need is Affectation, in the Manner of Saluting and resaluting in words keep to the most usual Custom.

27. Tis ill manners to bid one more eminent than yourself be covered as well as not to do it to whom it's due
Likewise he that makes too much haste to Put on his hat
does not well, yet he ought to Put it on at the first, or at
most the Second time of being ask'd; now what is herein
Spoken, of Qualification in behaviour in Saluting, ought
also to be observed in taking of Place, and Sitting down
for ceremonies without Bounds is troublesome.

28. If any one comes to Speak to you while you are Sitting Stand up tho he be your Inferiour, and when you Present Seats let it be to every one according to his

Degree.

29. When you meet with one of Greater Quality than yourself, Stop, and retire especially if it be at a Door or any Straight place to give way for him to Pass.

30. In walking the highest Place in most Countrys Seems to be on the right hand therefore Place yourself on the left of him whom you desire to Honour; but if three walk together the middle Place is the most Honourable the wall is usually given to the most worthy if two walk together.

31. If any one far Surpass others, either in age, Estate, or Merit, . . . would give Place to a meaner than himself . . . the one ought not to except it, So . . . it above

once or twice.

32. To one that is your equal, or not much inferior you are to give the chief Place in your Lodging and he to who 'tis offered ought at the first to refuse it but at the Second to accept though not without acknowledging his own unworthiness

33. They that are in Dignity or in office have in all places Precedency but whilst they are Young they ought to respect those that are their equals in Birth or other Qualitys, though they have no Publick charge.

34. It is good Manners to prefer them to whom we speak before ourselves especially if they be above us with

whom in no Sort we ought to begin.

35. Let your Discourse with Men of Business be Short

and Comprehensive.

36. Artificers & Persons of low Degree ought not to use many ceremonies to Lords, or Others of high Degree but Respect and highly Honour them, and those of high Degree ought to treat them with affibility & Courtesie, without Arrogancy.

37. In Speaking to men of Quality do not lean nor Look them full in the Face, nor approach too near them

at lest Keep a full Pace from them.

38. In visiting the Sick, do not Presently play the Physician if you be not Knowing therein.

39. In writing or Speaking, give to every Person his due Title According to his Degree & the Custom of the Place.

40. Strive not with your Superiors in argument, but always Submit your Judgment to others with Modesty.

41. Undertake not to Teach your equal in the art himself Professes; it flavours of arrogancy.

... courtesie be proper to the ... Dignity of his place ... t yr. same with a ... Clown and a Prince.

 Do not express Joy before one sick or in pain for that contrary Passion will aggravate his Misery.

44. When a man does all he can though it Succeeds not well blame not him that did it.

45. Being to advise or reprehend any one, consider whether it ought to be in Publick or in Private; presently,

or at Some other time in what terms to do it & in reproving Shew no Signs of Cholar but do it with all Sweetness and Mildness.

46. Take all Admonitions thankfully in what Time or Place Soever given but afterwards not being culpable take a Time or Place Convenient to let him know it that gave them.

47. Mock not nor Jest at anything of Importance break no Jest that are Sharp Biting and if you Deliver anything witty and Pleasant abstain from Laughing thereat yourself.

48. Wherein Wherein you reprove Another be unblameable yourself; for example is more prevalent than Precepts.

49. Use no Reproachfull Language against any one neither Curse nor Revile.

50. Be not hasty to believe flying Reports to the Disparagement of any.

51. Wear not your Cloths, foul, unript or Dusty but See they be Brush'd once every day at least and take heed that you approach not to any Uncleaness.

52. In your Apparel be Modest and endeavour to accomodate Nature, rather than to procure Admiration keep to the Fashion of your equals, Such as are Civil and orderly with respect to Times and Places.

53. Run not in the Streets, neither go too slowly nor with Mouth open go not Shaking Yr. Arms. . . . not

upon the toes, nor in a Dancing . .

54. Play not the Peacock, looking everywhere about you, to See if you be well Deck't, if your Shoes fit well if your Stockings Sit neatly, and Cloths handsomely.

55. Eat not in the Streets, nor in ye House, out of Season.

56. Associate yourself with Men of good Quality if you Esteem your own Reputation; for 'tis better to be alone than in bad Company.

57. In walking up and Down in a House, only with One in Company if he be Greater than yourself, at the first give him the Right hand and Stop not till he does and be not the first that turns, and when you do turn let it be with your face towards him, if he be a Man of Great Quality, walk not with him Cheek by Jowl but Somewhat behind him; but yet in Such a Manner that he may easily Speak to you.

58. Let your Conversation be without Malice or Envy, for 'tis a Sign of a Tractable and Commendable Nature; & in all Causes of Passion admit Reason to Govern.

59. Never express anything unbecoming, nor Act ag'tt ye Rules of Moral before your inferiours

60. Be not immodest in urging your Friends to Discover a Secret.

61. Utter not base and frivilous things amongst grave and Learn'd Men nor very Difficult Questions or Subjects, among the Ignorant or things hard to be believed, Stuff not your Discourse with Sentences amongst your Betters nor Equals.

62. Speak not of doleful Things in a Time of Mirth or at the Table; Speak not of Melancholy Things as Death and Wounds, and if others Mention them Change if you can the Discourse tell not your Dreams, but to

your intimate Friend.

63. A man ought not to value himself of his Atchievements or rare Qual . . . les Virtue or Kindred . . .

- 64. Break not a Jest where none take pleasure in mirth Laugh not aloud, nor at all without Occasion, deride no man's Misfortunes, tho' there seem to be Some cause.
- 65. Speak not injurious Words neither in Jest nor Earnest Scoff at none although they give Occasion
- 66. Be not forward but friendly and Courteous; the first to Salute hear and answer & be not Pensive when It's a time to converse.
- 67. Detract not from others neither be excessive in Commanding.
- 68. Go not thither, where you know not, whether you Shall be Welcome or not. Give not Advice with being Ask'd & when desired do it briefly.
- 69. If two contend together take not the part of either unconstrained, and be not obstinate in your Opinion, in Things indifferent be of the Major side.
- 70. Reprehend not the imperfections of others for that belongs to Parents Masters and Superiours.
- 71. Gaze not on the marks or blemishes of Others and ask not how they came. What you may Speak in Secret to your Friend deliver not before others.
- 72. Speak not in an unknown Tongue in Company but in your own Language and that as those of Quality do and not as ye Vulgar; Sublime matters treat Seriously.
- 73. Think before you Speak pronounce not imperfectly nor bring out your Words too hastily but orderly and Distinctly.
- 74. When Another Speaks be attentive your Self and disturb not the Auduence if any hesitate in his Words help him not nor Prompt him without desired, Interrupt him not, nor Answer him till his Speech be ended
- 75. In the midst of Discourse ask... but if you Perceive any Stop because of ... to Proceed: If a Person of Quality comes in while your Conversing its handsome to Repeat what was said before.
- 76. While you are talking, Point not with your Finger at him of Whom you Discourse nor Approach too near him to whom you talk especially to his face.
- 77. Treat with men at fit Times about Business & Whisper not in the Company of Others.
- 78. Make no Comparisons and if any of the Company be Commended for any brave act of Virtue, commend not another for the Same.
- 79. Be not apt to relate News if you know not the truth thereof. In Discoursing of things you Have heard Name not your Author always A Secret Discover not.
- 80. Be not Tedius in Discourse or in reading unless you find the Company pleased therewith.
- 81. Be not Curious to Know the Affairs of Others neither approach to those that Speak in Private
- 82. Undertake not what you cannot Perform but be Carefull to keep your Promise
- 83. When you deliver a matter do it without Passion & with Discretion, however mean ye Person be you do it too.
- 84. When your Superiours talk to any Body hearken not neither Speak nor Laugh
- 85. In Company of these Higher Quality than yourself Speak not till you are ask'd a Question then Stand upright put of your Hat & Answer in few words.
- 86. In Disputes, be not so Desirous to Overcome as not to give Liberty to each one to deliver his Opinion and

- Submit to ye Judgment of ye Major Part especially if they are Judges of the Dispute.
- 87. . . . as becomes a Man Grave . . . Settled and attentive . . . dict not at every turn what others Say.
- 88. Be not tedius in Discourse, make not many Digressions, nor repeat often the Same manner of Discourse.
- 89. Speak not Evil of the absent for it is unjust
- 90. Being Set at meat Scratch not neither Spit Cough or blow your Nose except there's a Necessity for it.
- 91. Make no Shew of taking great Delight in your Victuals, Feed not With Greediness; cut your Bread with a Knife, lean not on the Table neither find fault with what you Eat
- 92. Take no Salt or cut Bread with your Knife Greasy.
- 93. Entertaining any one at table it is decent to present him wt meat. Undertake not to help others undesired by ye Master.
- 94. If you Soak bread in the Sauce let it be no more than what you put in your Mouth at a time and blow not your broth at Table but Stay till Cools of it Self
- 95. Put not your meat to your Mouth with your Knife in your hand neither Spit forth the Stones of any fruit Pye upon a Dish nor cast anything under the table
- 96. It's unbecoming to Stoop much to ones Meat Keep your Fingers clean & when foul wipe them on a Corner of your Table Napkin.
- 97. Put not another bit into your Mouth till the former be Swallowed let not your Morsels be too big for the jowls
- 98. Drink not nor talk with your mouth full neither Gaze about you while you are a Drinking
- 99. Drink not too leisurely nor yet too hastily. Before and after Drinking wipe your Lips breath not then or Ever with too Great a Noise, for its uncivil
- 100. Cleanse not your teeth with the Table Cloth Napkin Fork or Knife but if Others do it let it be done wt a Pick Tooth
- 101. Rince not your Mouth in the Presence of Others 102. It is out of use to call upon the Company often
- to Eat nor need you Drink to others every Time you Drink
- 103. In company of your Betters be not . . . than they are lay not your Arm but ar.
- 104. It belongs to ye Chiefest in Company to unfold his Napkin and fall to Meat first, But he ought then to Begin in time and to Dispatch with Dexterity that ye Slowest may have time allowed him
- 105. Be not Angry at Table whatever happens & if you have reason to be so, Shew it not but on a Chearfull Countenance especially if there be Strangers for good Humour makes one Dish of Meat a Feast
- 106. Set not yourself at ye upper . . . of ye Table but if it be your Due or that ye Master of ye house will have it so, Contend not least you Should Trouble ye company.
- 107. If others talk at Table be attentive but talk not with Meat in your Mouth
- 108. When you Speak of God or his Atributes, let it be Seriously & . . . Reverence. Honour & obey your Natural Parents altho they be Poor
 - 109. Let your Recreations be Manfull not Sinfull.
- 110. Labour to keep alive in your Breast that Little Spark of Celestial fire called Conscience.

The Bi-Centennial Celebration

O_N February 22, 1924, in anticipation of the 200th anniversary of the birth of George Washington, Senator Simeon D. Fess, Ohio, Republican, introduced in the Senate a joint resolution authorizing an appropriation for the participation by the United States Government in a comprehensive, nationwide celebration of the bi-centennial of George Washington's birth in 1932. This resolution passed both Houses and was approved, June 9, 1924.

On December 2, a second resolution was approved, creating a commission to study and recommend plans for a celebration. The text of this resolution follows:

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That there is hereby established a commission to be known as the United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington (hereinafter referred to as the commission) and to be composed of nineteen commissioners, as follows:

The President of the United States; presiding officer of the Senate and Speaker of the House of Representatives, ex officio: Eight persons to be appointed by the President of the United States; four Senators by the President por tempore of the Senate; and four Representatives by the Speaker of the House of Representatives. The commission shall serve without compensation and shall select a chairman from among their number.

That there is hereby authorized to be appropriated out of any money in the Treasury not otherwise appropriated the sum of \$10,000 to be expended by the commission in accordance with the provisions of this resolution.

That it shall be the duty of the commissioners, after promulgating to the American people an address relative to the reason for its creation and of its purpose, to prepare a plan or plans and a program for the signalizing of the event, to commemorate which they are brought into being; and to give due and proper consideration to any plan or plans which may be submitted to them; and to take such steps as may be necessary in the coordination and correlation of plans prepared by State commissions, or by bodies created under appointment by the governors of the respective States and by representative civic bodies; and if the participation of other nations in the commemoration be deemed advisable, to communicate with governments of such nations.

That when the commission shall have approved of a plan of celebration, then it shall submit for their consideration and approval such plan or plans, in so far as they relate to fine arts, to the Commission of Fine Arts in Washington, for their approval, and in accordance with statutory requirements.

That the commission, after selecting a chairman and a vice chairman from among their numbers, may employ a secretary and such other assistants as may be needed for clerical work connected with the duties of the commission and may fix their respective compensations within the amount appropriated for such purposes.

The commissioners shall receive no compensation for their services, but shall be paid their actual and necessary traveling, hotel, and other expenses incurred in the discharge of their duties, out of the amount appropriated.

The commission shall on or before the 4th of March, 1925, make a report to Congress, in order that enabling legislation may be enacted.

That the commission hereby created shall expire within two years after the expiration of the celebration, December 31, 1932.

Subsequently Congress passed the following concurrent resolution inviting the States and Territories to participate in the celebration:

Resolved by the House of Representatives (the Senate mourring), That the Congress of the United States concurring), earnestly and respectfully invites the full cooperation of the legislatures and the chief executives of the respective States and Territories of the United States in the execution of the joint resolution of Congress creating the United States Commission for the Celebration of the Two Hundredth Anniversary of the Birth of George Washington in such manner as may seem to them most fitting to the end that the bicentennial anniversary of him who was "first in war, first in peace, and first in the hearts of his countrymen"—the pioneer, the soldier, the statesman, the husbandman, the exemplar of American citizenship— George Washington, may be commemorated in the year 1932 in such manner that future generations of American citizens may live according to the example and precepts of his exalted life and character and thus perpetuate the American Republic.

In pursuance of the provision in the second resolution of Congress that an address be delivered to the American people on the significance of the event, President Coolidge on February 22, 1925, delivered a masterful and inspiring address before both Houses of Congress, the members of the Cabinet, Supreme Court, members of the Bicentennial Commission, and many distinguished guests. Significant portions of President Coolidge's address follow:

"My fellow Americans, on the 22d day of February, 1932, America will celebrate the two hundredth anniversary of the birth of George Washington. Wherever there are those who love ordered liberty, they may well join in the observance of that event. Although he belongs to us, yet by being a great American he became a great world figure. It is but natural that here under the shadow of the stately monument rising to his memory, in the Capital City bearing his name, the country made independent by his military genius, and the Republic established by his statesmanship, should already begin preparations to proclaim the immortal honor in which we hold the Father of our Country.

While many excellent books, often scholarly and elo-

quent, have been written about him, the temptation has been so strong to represent him as an heroic figure composed of superlatives that the real man among men, the human being subjected to the trials and temptations common to all mortals, has been too much obscured and forgotten. When we regard him in this character and have revealed to us the judgment with which he met his problems, we shall all the more understand and revere his true greatness. No great mystery surrounds him; he never relied on miracles. But he was a man endowed with what has been called uncommon common sense, with tireless industry, with a talent for taking infinite pains, and with a mind able to understand the universal and external problems of mankind.

"Washington has come to personify the American Republic. He presided over the convention that framed our Constitution. The weight of his great name was the deciding factor in securing its adoption by the States. These results could never have been secured had it not been recognized that he would be the first President. When we realize what it meant to take 13 distracted colonies, impoverished, envious, and hostile, and weld them into an orderly federation under the authority of a central government, we can form some estimate of the influence of this great man. But when we go further and re-member that the Government which he did so much to bring into being not only did not falter when he retired from its administration but withstanding every assault, has constantly grown stronger with the passage of time and has been found adequate to meet the needs of nearly 120,000,000 people occupying half a continent and constituting the greatest power the world has ever known, we can judge something of the breadth and soundness of his statesmanship.

"We have seen many soldiers who have left behind them little but the memory of their conflicts, but among all the victors the power to establish among a great people a form of self-government which the test of experience has shown will endure was bestowed upon Washington, and Washington alone. Many others have been able to destroy. He was able to construct. That he had around him many great minds does not detract from his glory. His was the directing spirit without which there would have been no independence, no Union, no Constitution, and no Republic. His ways were the ways of truth. He built for eternity. His influence grows. His stature increases with the increasing years. In wisdom of action,

in purity of character, he stands alone. We can not yet estimate him. We can only indicate our reverence for him and thank the Divine Providence which sent him to serve and inspire his fellow men."

The Commission which Congress created and which was named The George Washington Bicentennial Commission, is composed of appointees by the President and representatives of the Senate and House. The membership is:

Chairman-The President of the United States.

The Vice-President of the United States.

Speaker of the House of Representatives.

United States Senate: Simeon D. Fess, Vice Chairman, Ohio; Arthur Capper, Kansas; Carter Glass, Virginia.

House of Representatives: Willis C. Hawley, Oregon; John Q. Tilson, Connecticut; Joseph W. Byrns, Tennessee; R. Walton Moore, Virgina.

Presidential Commissioners: Mrs. John Dickinson Sherman, Colorado; Mrs. Anthony Wayne Cook, Pennsylvania; Henry Ford, Michigan; C. Bascom Slemp, Virginia; Wallace McCamant, Oregon; Albert Bushnell Hart, Massachusetts; Bernard M. Baruch, New York; George Eastman, New York.

Associate Directors: *Lieut. Col. U. S. Grant, 3d.; Representative Sol Bloom.

Historian-Dr. Albert Bushnell Hart.

Executive Offices: Washington Building, Wash., D. C.

Since the passage of the first Congressional resolution various appropriations have been made to carry on the work of the Commission.

Up to the present Congress has appropriated a total of \$835,716.02 for the George Washington Bicentennial Celebration. Representative Sol Bloom, New York, Democrat, associate director of the Bicentennial Commission, who is in charge of the work of the Commission, has asked an additional appropriation of \$427,000 for the coming fiscal year.

The House appropriated in the First Deficiency Bill, \$250,000. The Senate Committee on Appropriations reduced the appropriation to \$200,000. The difference between the two Houses will be ironed out in conference with the prospect that the figure \$200,000 will prevail. In that event the total appropriated will be \$1,035,716.02.

*Resigned.



"Wazhington's is the mightiest name on earth—long since mightiest in the cause of civil liberty; still mightiest in moral reformation. On that name no eulogy is expected. It can not be. To add brightness to the sun, or glory to the name of Washington, is alike impossible. Let none attempt it. In solemn awe we pronounce the name, and in its naked deathless splendor leave it shining on."—Abraham Lincoln.

A The 72nd Congress -- Now in Session

Duration-March 4, 1931-March 4, 1933. First Session Convened Dec. 7, 1931, Recessed from Dec. 22, 1931 to Jan. 4, 1932.

In the Senate

Membership Total-96

47 Republicans

47 Democrats

1 Farmer-Labor 1 Vacancy

Presiding Officer

President: Charles Curtis, R. Vice-President of the United States

Floor Leaders

Majority Leader James E. Watson, Ind., R. Minority Leader
Joseph T. Robinson, Ark., D.

In the House

Membership Total-435

214 Republicans

218 Democrats

2 Vacancies

Presiding Officer

Speaker: John N. Garner, D. Member of the House from Texas

Floor Leaders

Majority Leader Henry T. Rainey, Ill., D. Minority Leader Bertrand H. Snell, N. Y., R.

Action by Congress Since the Holiday Recess - -

From January 4 to January 22, 1952

on January 4, following the Christmas recess, Congress came to grips with the main problem before it—the consideration of measures for the revival of business.

In the handling of the legislation for this purpose, Congress has been following along the general lines laid down in President Hoover's program, which contained eight

(1). The strengthening of the Federal Land Bank system in the interest of agricultural loans; (2) the creation of a Reconstruction Finance Corporation, with a capital of \$2,000,000,000, to aid banking institutions in advancing credits; (3) the creation of a system of home loan discount banks to aid home building; (4) to make more flexible the discount facilities of the Federal Reserve system; (5) the development of a plan to aid depositors in banks which have closed; (6) revision of transportation laws along the lines recommended by the Interestate Commerce Commission in behalf of the railroad systems in order to strengthen railroad bonds; (7) revision of banking laws in order to better safeguard depositors and (8) the exercise of drastic economy in Government expenditures.

By virtue of an agreement reached between Democratic and Republican leaders of the House and Senate and the President, these measures are being handled with as little partisanship as possible. The result is that they are being disposed of with unusual promptness.

Within less than three weeks after Congress came back into session in January, two features of the reconstruction program had been written into law and signed by the President—the Federal Land Bank bill and the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill.

Furthermore, the economy program was being put into effect by drastic reductions in the annual appropriation bills, as a positive feature, and the holding off on many demands for outright direct relief appropriations, as a negative feature.

In fact, the entire conflict in the present Congress is one between money spending and money saving. Never in the history of the country have there been so many bills for direct Government aid as have been introduced at this session. On the first day of the session both houses were flooded with relief bills and their number has been steadily mounting from day to day.

From the unemployed, from farmers, flood suffers, veterans and other groups have come demands for cash. Prior to the assembling of Congress the opinion prevailed in Washington that Congress would run wild in the matter of relief appropriations which the President would be forced to veto with the result that a straight out fight would develop between the Capitol and the White House.

Congress had not been in session long, however, before it became apparent that many of the members of the Senate and House who would normally be expected to be enthusiastic in their support of measures appropriating Federal funds for relief purposes were not so ardent on the subject. The reason soon became apparent.

Once in so often the American tax payer goes on strike. Usually he grumbles and complains, but does nothing. But along comes a day when he arises and assures the public officials that he means business. And once the

public official is convinced that the tax payer's voice has been raised in earnest, the public official listens to that voice as to none other.

Farm groups may organize and make demands of Congress; veterans may serve their ultimatum; labor organizations may speak. In ordinary times they are listened to with enthuiastic or apprehensive attention and usually obeyed. The obedience, in most cases, is due to the fact that the public official estimates the number of votes controlled by the particular organized group making demands on him and considers those votes too valuable to antagonize.

But once in a great while he hears another voice; a voice usually silent or raised only in faint protest. And when he hears this voice his ears are closed to all others, for he knows that this usually silent voice is infinitely more powerful than all other voices and that when it is followed up by action it is politically speaking, ruthless and devastating. That is the voice of the taxpayer.

Early in the summer of the year 1931, the voice of the taxpayer began to be heard. It came faintly on the ears of public officials at first. In the mountain states of the west, mass meetings began to be held, mass meetings well attended by county taxpayers who foregathered and informed their county commissioners and other money spending officials that the spending of public monies, contributed by the taxpayers, had to be curtailed or other county commissioners of more frugal temperament would be chosen at the next election.

This sudden desire to hold mass meetings and issue preemptory orders to money spending public officials spread among the taxpayers of other states, with the result that it became, outside the big cities, national in its

Now every man holding an elective office knows that in his constituency there are several men ready and willing to run for the office he holds on a platform of cutting down governmental expenditures, whether they be municipal, county, state or Federal, and that with the taxpayers in the mood they are today, a disobedience of their wishes is almost sure to cost him his job.

Farm organizations, labor, veterans may or may not be able to deliver their votes. But the taxpayer is not only able to deliver his own vote but he is sure to have a vote to deliver. Hunger marchers and unemployment nuarchers do not represent votes as a general rule. Their poll taxes usually have to be paid for them by political organizations before they can go to the polls. But the regular taxpayer pays his own poll tax and is a free agent, whenever he chooses to exercise his suffrage.

There is hardly a member of the Senate or House today whose mail is not full of letters from taxpayers telling him to cut down Government expenses. Compared with the sum total of municipal, county and state taxes, Federal axes are a minor matter to the average American taxpayer. But the expenditures of the Federal Government are so vast and receive so much nationwide publicity, that the far off American voter looks at the magnitude of the appropriation rather than at the small amount he will be called upon to contribute. And anyhow, coming on top of his county and state taxes a Federal tax is a sort of last straw that breaks the camel's back.

And this puts Congress in a hard position.

The net result, so far in this session, is that while there is plenty of outward clamor for large appropriations for various phases of relief, there is a strong determination

to cut Federal expenditures to the bone and to devise as innocuous a method of taxation to make up for the existing Government deficit as is possible. Senators and Representatives can then go before their constituents at the next elections and defend their tax legislation on the ground that it is but temporary and is offset by a heavy curtailment in expenditures.

In taking the initiative in major legislation, the Democratic majority in the House has so far moved without any friction to speak of. After harmonizing threatening differences in their ranks over committee assignments, the Democratic leaders adopted a program aimed to handle promptly the pressing problems in the following order: Moratorium on foreign debts; tariff; taxes; the President's rehabilitation program, appropriations.

That they have not made greater speed is due to the fact that all these measures must be handled through three committees—Ways and Means, Banking and Currency and Appropriations. The Committee on Ways and Means, for example has been called upon to handle the moratorium, tariff and tax legislation. In addition to this, the Democratic members of the Committee on Ways and Means are also the Committee on Committees of their party, and had to straighten out committee tangles in addition to their regular duties as members of one of the most important standing committees of the House. They have been in almost continuous session since Congress convened.

The Federal Farm Loan Bank bill, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill and all other banking bills are handled by the Committee on Banking and Currency, while all appropriations are handled by the Committee on Appropriations. Therefore all these important and pressing pieces of legislation have to take their turn in these committees and cannot be turned over to other committees.

In view of this fact, it will be seen that the House has been moving as rapidly as possible.

Slight delays have been caused in the Senate, but not serious ones. The fight against Senator George Moses, Republican, of New Hampshire, by the western progressive group, which sought to displace him as President Pro Tempore of the Senate, finally collapsed. The Democratic and Republican leaders permitted the resolution for a vote on President Pro Tempore to remain the unfinished business of the Senate for several weeks, using it as a buffer against other troublesome legislation that might come along, but as soon as it had served that purpose, they promptly joined forces and swept the matter out of the way, with the net result that Senator Moses remains President Pro Tempore.

Senator Hiram Bingham of Connecticut, forced a vote on a resolution calling for state referenda on prohibition, but this was promptly defeated by a vote of 54 to 15, and prohibition was dropped out of the discussions in the Senate for the time being.

A number of Senate and House investigations are going on but none has reached the point where legislation is beginning to be shaped. Until after the rehabilitation program has been dealt with in its entirety the big political clashes in the two houses will remain in abeyance.

To "emphasize the paramount importance to the Nation" of the need for immediate action by Congress on the Administration's proposals for financial rehabilitation, President Hoover greeted the Congress, on its return on January 4, from a brief holiday respet with a species appeal or surprise message, which is given in full below.

President Hoover's

"Surprise" Message

THE full test of

President Hoover's special message of January 4 to Congress is as follows:

At the convening of the Congress on December 7, I laid proposals before it designed to check the further degeneration in prices and values, to fortify us against continuous shocks from world instability and to unshackle the forces of recovery.

The need is manifestly even more evident than at the date of my message a month ago.

I should be derelict in my duty if I did not at this time emphasize the paramount importance to the Nation of constructive action upon these questions at the earliest possible moment.

These recommendations have been largely developed in consultations with leading men of both parties, of agriculture, of labor, of banking and of industry.

They furnish the basis for full collaboration to effect these purposes. They have no partisan character. We can and must replace the unjustifiable fear in the country by confidence.

The principal subjects requiring immediate action are:

1. The strengthening of the Federal Land Bank system to aid the farmer and to maintain at the highest level the credit of these institutions which furnish agriculture with much needed capital. This measure has passed the House of Representatives and is now before the Senate.

2. The creation of a reconstruction finance corporation to furnish during the period of the depression credits otherwise unobtainable under existing circumstances in order to give confidence to agriculture, industry and labor against further paralyzing influences.

By such prompt assurance we can reopen many credit channels and reestablish the normal working of our commercial organization and thus contribute greatly to reestablish the resumption of employment and stability in prices and values.

3. The creation of a system of home loan discount banks in order to revive employment by new construction and to mitigate the difficulties of many of our citizens in securing renewals of mortgages on their homes and farms. It has the further purpose of permanent encouragement of home ownership.

To accomplish these purposes we must so liberate the resources of the country banks, the savings banks and the building and loan associations as to restore these institutions to normal functioning. Under the proposal before the Congress most of the capital of these discount banks would be subscribed by the institutions participating in their use and such residue as might be necessary for the Federal Government to supply temporarily would be repaid in time by such institutions as in the case of the Farm Loan Banks when they were first organized.

 The discount facilities of our Federal Reserve Banks are restricted by law more than that of the central banks in other countries.

This restriction in times such as these limits the liquidity of the banks and tends to increase the forces of deflation, cripples the smaller businesses, stifles new enterprise and thus limits employment.

I recommend an enlargement of these discount privileges to take care of emergencies.

To meet the needs of our situation it will not be necessary to go even as far as the current practice of foreign institutions of similar character. Such a measure has the support of most of the governors of the Federal Reserve Banks.

- The development of a plan to assure early distribution to depositors in closed banks is necessary to relieve distress among millions of small depositors and small businesses, and to release vast sums of money now frozen.
- Revision of the laws relating to transportation in the direction recommended by the Interstate Commerce Commission would strengthen our principal transportation systems and restore confidence in the bonds of our railways.

These bonds are held largely by our insurance companies, our savings banks and benevolent trusts, and are therefore the property of nearly every family in the United States. The railways are the largest employers of labor and purchasers of goods.

- Revision of banking laws in order to better safeguard depositors.
- 8. The country must have confidence that the credit and stability of the Federal Government will be maintained by drastic economy in expenditure; by adequate increase of taxes, and by restriction of issues of Federal securities.

The recent depreciation in prices of Government securities is a serious warning which reflects the fear of further large and unnecessary issues of such securities. Promptness in adopting an adequate budget relief to taxpayers by resolute economy and restriction in security issues is essential to remove this uncertainty.

Combatting a depression is indeed like a great war in that it is not a battle upon a single front but upon many fronts. These measures are all a necessary addition to the efficient and courageous efforts of our citizens throughout the Nation. Our people through voluntary measures and through State and local action are providing for distress.

Through the organized action of employers they are securing distribution of employment and thus mitigating the hardships of the depression.

Through the mobilization of national credit associations they are aiding the country greatly. Our duty is so to supplement these steps as to make their efforts more fruitful.

The United States has the resources and resiliance to make a large measure of recovery independent of the rest of the world. Our internal economy is our primary concern and we must fortify our economic structure in order to meet any situation that may arise and by so doing lay the foundations for recovery.

This does not mean that we are insensible to the welfare of other nations or that our own self-interest is not involved in economic rehabilitation abroad which would restore the markets for our agriculture and other commodities. But it is our duty to devote ourselves to the problems of our own internal economy not only as the first necessity to domestic welfare, but as our best contribution to the stability of the world as a whole.

Action in these matters by the Congress will go far to reestablish confidence, to restore the functioning of our

economic system and to rebuilding of prices and values and to quickening employment. Our justified hope and confidence for the future rests upon unity of our people and of the Government in prompt and courageous action.

The President's Reconstruction Finance Corporation

On January 22 the President signed the bill creating the \$2,000,000,000 Reconstruction Finance Corporation bill. The moratorium bill was considered by the President as the first of the series of measures necessary to the return of prosperity and the Finance Corporation bill the second.

The main provisions of the Finance Corporation bill

have been summarized as follows:

Financial Set-Up-Federal Government subscribes \$500,000,000 capitalization. Corporation has power to issue bonds, debentures and notes to mature within five years to obtain \$1,500,000,000 additional funds, such obligations carrying full and unconditional guarantee of the Federal Government.

Management-By board of seven directors, including Secretary of the Treasury, Governor of the Federal Reserve Board, Farm Loan Commissioner and four others to be named by President. Of the seven not more than four may be members of the same political party.

Purpose-To aid in financing agriculture, commerce and industry, including facilitating the exportation of agricultural and other products. To accomplish this purpose power is given to make loans on adequate security.

Those Eligible to Borrow-Banks, savings banks, trust companies, building and loan associations, insurance companies, mortgage loan companies, credit unions, Federal land banks, joint-stock land banks, Federal intermediate credit banks, agricultural credit corporations, livestock credit corporations, receivers of closed banks and railroads engaged in interstate commerce for temporary financing and for construction purposes.

Limitations on Loans-Not more than five per cent of the capital and other funds of the corporation may be made to any one corporation and outstanding loans to receivers of closed banks shall not exceed at any time \$200,-000,000. No loans can be made on foreign securities or for liquidating foreign securities. Loans may be made for three years, with renewal privilege for a total of five years at rates of interest to be determined by the directors.

Special Provisions—Ten per cent of the corporation's funds, or maximum \$200,000,000, allocated to Secretary of Agriculture to lend to farmers unable, because of emergency, to finance crops this year. Corporation authorized to accept drafts and bills of exchange with maturity less twelve months growing out of export transactions.

Other Provisions-Obligations of Corporation cannot be discounted or purchased by Federal Reserve banks but may be purchased by Treasury and will not serve as basis for new currency. Corporation's obligations exempt from all taxation except sur-taxes, estate, inheritance and gift taxes.

In approving the Finance Corporation bill President Hoover said:

"I have signed the Reconstruction Finance Corporation Act.

"It brings into being a powerful organization with adequate resources, able to strengthen weaknesses that may develop in our credit, banking and railway structure, in order to permit business and industry to carry on normal activities free from the fear of unexpected shocks and retarding influences.

"Its purpose is to stop deflation in agriculture and industry and thus to increase employment by the restoration of men to their normal jobs. It is not created for the aid of big industries and big banks. Such institutions are amply able to take care of themselves.

"It is created for the support of the smaller banks and financial institutions, and through rendering their resources liquid to give renewed support to business, in-dustry and agriculture. It should give opportunity to mobilize the gigantic strength of our country for recovery.

"In attaching my signature to this extremely important legislation, I wish to pay tribute to the patriotism of the men in both Houses of Congress who have given proof of their devotion to the welfare of their country irrespective of political affiliations.'

Immediately upon the passage of the bill, President Hoover announced the appointment of General Charles G. Dawes, former Vice-President of the United States and Ambassador to Great Britain, as president of the Corporation. Other appointments are expected to be made promptly.

The Federal Land Bank Bill

On January 23 the President signed the Federal Land Bank bill. This bill authorizes an additional \$125,000,000 as capital for the Federal Land Banks to be administered through the Federal Farm Loan Board. Of this sum, \$25,000,000 is specifically set aside to be used by the banks in extending the time on which borrowers from the banks may repay their overdue mortgages. The method of financing is set forth in the bill as follows:

"It shall be the duty of the Secretary of the Treasury on behalf of the United States, upon the request of the board of directors of any Federal land bank made with the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board, to subscribe from time to time for capital stock of such bank in an amount or amounts specified in such approval or approvals, such subscriptions to be subject to call in whole or in part by the board of directors of said bank upon 30 days' notice with the approval of the Federal Farm Loan Board. The Secretary of the Treasury is hereby authorized and directed to take out and pay for shares having an aggregate par value equal to the amounts so called; and to enable the Secretary of the Treasury to pay for stock issued hereunder there is hereby authorized to be appropriated the sum of \$125,000,000, such stock to be nonvoting."

In a statement announcing his approval of the bill President Hoover sail:

"I am glad to sign the third of our reconstruction measures—that providing additional capital to the Federal land banks. It should (a) reinforce the credit of the Federal land bank system and reassure investors in land bank bonds; (b) thus enable the banks to obtain capital for farmers at reasonable rates; and (c) above all bring relief and hope to many borrowers from the banks who have done their honest best but, because of circumstances beyond their control, have been unable temporarily to make the grade."

Bills providing protection for bank depositors and for home building loans are now being sonsidered by the Committees on Banking and Currency of the Senate and

House, with prospects of prompt action.

Revision of Banking Laws, etc.

In the meantime proposals for the general revision of the banking laws and for changes in the Federal Reserve System are contained in a bill introduced in the Senate on January 21, by Senator Carter Glass, Virginia, Democrat, chairman of the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, which for some months has been conducting an investigation of the banking system with a view to making changes in the banking laws.

This bill is expected to be the principal bank reform measure around which discussion during the session will revolve. It will be passed upon by the Senate Committee on Banking and Currency, reported, either in its present form or with amendments, and will undoubtedly be acted upon by the Senate. It is expected that a similar bill will be introduced in the House, although the definite pro-

gram has not yet been decided upon.

In explaning the provisions of the bill, Senator Glass

made the following statement:

THE bill is a composite which has been in a state of preparation since the subcommittee adjourned the public hearings last February. It is not a one-man bill at all. The subcommittee unanimously authorized me to report it to the Senate this afternoon. The subcommittee is composed of Senators Norbeck, Townsend, Bulkley, Walcott and myself as

We agreed to a provision which sets up inside the Federal Reserve System a liquidating corporation to liquidate the assets of failed member banks. Federal Reserve banks are required to subscribe to the stock of the liquidating corporation in the amount of one-half of their surplus. The function of the liquidating corporation would be to go into any failed member bank, either National or State, with expert accountants, and immediately appraise their probable assets and promptly pay to depositors as large a percentage as the liquidating corporation might determine. Instead of receivers holding the assets for years, and keeping depositors out of their money, this proposal enables quick liquidation of failed banks and payment to depositors as soon as possible and, as far as possible.

The plan would relate to any failed member bank still in receivership, as the surplus of the Federal Reserve banks is about \$259,000,000. This would give about

\$130,000,000 to start with.

There would be a constant accretion to the revolving fund to be paid out of the earnings of the Reserve banks in excess of the six per cent cumulative interest to which member banks are entitled. The earnings of the liquidation corporation are to be returned to the revolving corporation in the sum of 70 per cent. That is, 70 per cent of the earnings of the liquidation corporation will be turned back to the revolving fund and the balance of 30

per cent will be paid as an additional discount to member hanks.

This should result in making the Federal Reserve System more attractive to member banks or those wishing to become members, because it affords an extra dividend and assurance to depositors of member banks that funds will not be tied up indefinitely, but a percentage of them would

be given to depositors as soon as possible.

The proposal would be a permanent thing. In response to the demand to do something for non-member banks we have proposed an amendment to take care of State banks, and authorize an appropriation of \$200,000,000 from the treasury to go to the liquidating corporation in such amounts and at such times as the corporation's directors may require. The liquidating corporation, inside the Reserve System, administers the fund, thus averting the necessity of setting up another agency outside.

This is a temporary plan. For a period not to exceed two years after the act is approved the corporation may purchase and for five years hold and liquidate assets of any closed State bank, loan to them and enter into negotiations to secure their reopening under the same terms to apoly to national and member banks. Of course, this can be done only where the State laws permit. The corporation is inside the Reserve System and does not attempt to seize \$50,000,000 of the Reserve Bank surplus for an

outside agency, as other bills do.

The subcommittee also proposes to eliminate the Secretary of the Treasury as an ex-officio member of the Reserve Board and authorize the President to appoint six members, leaving the Controller of the Currency as an ex-officio member. This would be a board of seven instead of the present eight. We have restored the requirement that two members of the board shall be persons with banking experience.

The bill extends to national banks the same general powers which are exercised by State banks and are not in

conflict with national banking laws.

The bill also restricts, rather severely, national or member banks in the use of Federal Reserve facilities for stock speculation purposes. It restrains member banks in making loans for a period of fifteen days, on their direct promissory notes with United States bonds as security, from borrowing more than a certain per cent from the Federal Reserve Banks when they are making loans to brokers for speculative purposes. The bill automatically withdraws from any bank violating that provision of the law the fifteen-day privilege. This can be restored only by unanimous vote of the Federal Reserve Board.

We make practically the same prohibition against member banks, making loans for others, that is, corporations which want to loan money on call for stock speculative purposes. This is something which has already been done by the New York Clearing House.

We undertook to authorize State-wide branch banking by national banks, tentatively restricting the privilege of States where State branch banks are allowed.

We undertook, instead of prohibiting member banks from having affiliates, to provide searching examination, some degree of supervision and complete publicity of reports made through the examinations, and we prohibit the identity of stock certificates.

We restrict loans by member banks to affiliates to 10 per cent of the capital stock of the lending bank.

We also undertook some measure of control over chain

group banks, and do not let the parent bank vote for directors of the Federal Reserve Bank. We require concerted examination and publicity reports just as in the case of the affiliates. Group banks are required to get rid of all stock and bonds of affiliates. They must submit to examination by the Controller, restore double liability by making deposits with the Controller, give up voting at Reserve Banks, divest themselves of ownership of stock and bond affiliates and accept certain regulations now made incumbent on national banks.

Returning to the branch banks, no bank can allow branches unless the parent bank has a capital of \$1,000,-

000.

We have raised the capital of National banks to at

least 15 per cent of the outstanding deposits.

Heretofore open market operations have been conducted practically by New York banks with assent of other participating Federal Reserve Banks. They had an open market committee without express consent of law. We establish a committee of twelve, one from each Reserve Bank, who will meet and conduct open market operations.

We have taken the subject of foreign securities in hand and have required that Federal Reserve Banks shall get the approval of the Federal Reserve Board in such transactions and report them to the board. They must report the transactions in advance. This relates to renewals of loans as well as to new transactions.

We authorize national banks to charge a rate of discount allowed by law of the State in which they are located, or at the rate of 2 per cent above the Federal Reserve Bank discount rate in the district where located, or which ever is higher. If no rate is fixed by law they may charge a rate not more than 7 per cent, or 2 per cent above the reserve rate, whichever is higher.

The reason for this is that in periods of actual distress when credits and currency are in demand, rediscounting is sometimes actually precluded except at a loss. In thirty-five States there is a legal limit of 6 per cent, and when Reserve Banks in those States find it necessary to raise rates to 5 or 6 per cent, it is impossible for them to get any accommodation from the Reserve Banks except at a loss. Under this they can get a 2 per cent spread.

We provided that no national banking associations or

We provided that no national banking associations or member banks shall promise to pay to depositors in consideration of maintaining a balance, a rate of interest in excess of one-half of the rate of interest specified in law, and when the depositors are bankers who have balances in other banks, the banking associations or member banks shall not pay more for maintaining the balances with them than the current discount rate in the Federal Reserve district, or in excess of 2½ per cent, or whichever is

We provide that there may be formed groups of member banks in any Federal Reserve district in time of emergency, which groups may agree to endorse severally and unitedly notes secured by collateral not now eligible for rediscount at Reserve Banks. They may have access to rediscount facilities of Reserve Banks, at a progressive rate of interest above the ordinary rate required. The rate begins at ½ of 1 per cent for 90 days and increases 50 per cent for each 90 days. This is responsive somewhat to the suggestion of Senator Vandenberg on broadening the base.

Agriculture

Senate passed S. J. Res. 60, introduced by Senator Arthur Capper, Kans., R., providing that 40,000,000 bushels of wheat owned by the Federal Farm Board be distributed to the needy through the medium of the Red Cross or any other agency designated by the President. The Farm Board had expressed its approval of the measure but asked that it be paid for the wheat. No payment was provided for in the Senate resolution, which, upon reaching the House, was referred to the Committee on Agriculture, where it is now under consideration.

On January 18 the House Committee on Appropriations reported the annual Department of Agriculture Appropriation bill, carrying a total appropriation of \$175,433,000. This is a reduction of \$10,799,000 below the budget estimates and some thing more than \$60,000,000 below

the same bill for the current fiscal year.

The Senate Committee on Agriculture on January 14, reported the resolution by Senator George W. Norris, Nebraska, Republican, to investigate the Federal Farm Board. The resolution was referred to the Committee on Audit and Control to pass upon the appropriation of \$50,000 carried in the resolution to defray the cost of the investigation.

Disarmament

On January 20, 1932, Congress favorably authorized the appropriation of \$450,000, for the expenses of participation by the United States

in the disarmament conference to be held in Geneva in 1932. The Sixty-ninth Congress appropriated \$120,000 for the participation of the United States in the work of the preparation commission for the disarmament commission, and after six sessions, held during the period from April, 1926, to December, 1930, in which the United States was represented regularly through an official delegation, the commission completed its task of laying the groundwork for a general conference. On June 13, 1931, the secretary-general of the League of Nations consequently issued invitations to all nations, whether members of the league or not, to participate in a general disarmament conference to be convened at Geneva on February 2, 1932, which invitation was accepted by the American Government on July 7, 1931. It is expected that the duration of the forthcoming conference will be approximately seven or eight months, and that the cost of an appropriate delegation will be a little more than \$50,000 a month.

When the conference opens on February 2 in Geneva, the United States will be represented by the following delegation. 1. Chairman, U. S. Secretary of State, Stimson, who succeeds former Ambassador Dawes, first named to the delegation and later appointed to head the Reorganization Finance Corporation.

2. U. S. Senator Claude A. Swanson, of Virginia, ranking Democratic member of both naval affairs and foreign relations committees. He is considered a "big navy" man, though a leader in the Senate contest for ratification of the London naval limitation treaty.

the London naval limitation treaty.
3. Hugh S. Gibson, U. S. Ambassador to Belgium, sometimes referred to as "America's Ambassador at

large" due to his continuous service on the international conference to which the United States has been a party, both officially and unofficially. Most recently he was chairman of the American delegation to the preparatory commission for the disarmament conference and chairman of the American delegation to the conference for limitation of naval armament as well as chairman of the conference, in 1927.

4. Miss Mary Emma Wooley, president of Mt. Holyoke College since 1900. Miss Wooley, militant for peace, will bring woman's views on war to the council table. She has long been a stanch advocate of peace—to the extent that, as a member of the Daughters of the American Revolution, she was said to be blacklisted by some chapters for her peace activities. As a women's leader she campaigned for equal suffrage, for prohibition and against war.

5. Norman H. Davis, the New York banker, a Democrat born in Tennessee, and a graduate of Stanford University, President Hoover's alma mater. Mr. Davis is devoted to the ideals of Woodrow Wilson, for whom he was financial adviser on the American commission to negotiate peace.

He worked with President Hoover in war relief work, has served as financial adviser in international affairs, was Assistant Secretary of Treasury in charge of foreign loans and served as Undersecretary of State.

Mr. Hugh Wilson, U. S. Minister to Switzerland, has been named as alternate delegate.

When the American delegates go into the discussions, either in plenary session or in the more intimate conferences from which the real results of the conference will emerge, they will not have any special plans for presentation as was offered the world at Washington, in 1922, or at London, eight years later. The role of the United States will be a less major one, as this country does not recognize either in its military or its naval effectives, any source of possible distrust from any nation. The American Army has been reduced to a point where it is barely 60 per cent capita ratio of Germany's military strength, which is supposed to be the absolute in military disarmament.

The relative strength of the American Navy was first adjusted in Washington during the arms conference, and has again been cut to comparative levels with the British and Japanese navies at London. Therefore, the interest of the American delegation will be chiefly in submitting their good offices to break a deadlock, wherever one develops.

Federal Pay Reductions

Claiming the attention of Congress for the first few weeks and which has aroused much controversy is that of cutting the salaries of the federal employees. Five wage cut proposals have been introduced to date and have been associated with both the tax program and the drive in both parties to curtail expenditures.

In the Senate, the chief advocate for cutting public salaries is Senator Borah, Idaho, Republican, who has offered three separate bills to effect the saving.

The first would reduce pay of Senate and House members from \$10,000 to \$8,000, and the salaries of the Vice-President, Speaker and Cabinet members from \$15,000 to \$12,000, a 20 per cent cut.

The second would place salaries of Farm Board mem-

bers at \$9,600 and limit all salaries paid under the agriculture marketing act to \$15,000.

The third would repeal the present provision allowing 20 cents a mile to members of Congress going to and coming from congressional sessions.

In the House the measures vary. Representative Harold McGugin (Republican), Kansas, suggested "emergency reductions ranging from 10 per cent on income from \$1,200 to \$2,000, to 20 per cent on salaries over \$5,000. Representative Milton C. Gerber (Republican), Okla-

Representative Milton C. Gerber (Republican), Oklahoma, who earlier proposed a sliding scale of 10 to 25 per cent cuts on salaries ranging from \$1,200 to more than \$3,500, revised his scale to apply to incomes ranging from \$1,800 to over \$5,000.

The amended Garber bill provided for a 10 per cent cut in salaries between \$1,800 and \$2,500, 15 per cent between \$2,500 and \$3,500, 20 per cent between \$3,500 and \$5,000 and 25 per cent for over \$5,000.

Besides the McGugin and Garber proposals, salary reduction bills have been introduced in the House by Representative Robert F. Rich (Republican), Pennsylvania, and Representative Ashton C. Shallenberger (Democrat), Nebraska.

On January 7, the House Committee on Expenditures in the Executive Department, began hearings on these groups of bills and two days later voted to table them.

The proponents announced that they would consider an attempt to obtain the 145 necessary signatures to take the bills away from the committee and bring them to a vote in the House. This procedure is now possible under the new House rules. So far this attempt has not materialized and the opponents seem to have won the first skirmish.

Foreign Loans

the Senate Committee on Finance of loans made to foreign governments by American financial concerns and the sale of the bonds of foreign governments in this country, being conducted pursuant to a resolution offered by Senator Hiram Johnson, California, R., are being continued.

After hearing a number of leading American bankers, the matter of American loans to Latin American governments was taken up by the committee, charges having been made that American concerns interested in oil and nitrates have, by virtue of loans made to Latin American Governments, become identified with politics in these countries and that some of these arrangements were made with the sanction of the State Department.

In reply the Department of State notified the committee that its policy in passing upon private loans to foreign governments had been not to pass on the security or merits of the loans, the sole aim of the department being in the interests of the people of the United States.

The Department described four general situations in which it usually indicated its disapproval of such loans.

First, where the loan evidently was for purposes which the State Department considered "unproductive;"

Second, where the loan was for purposes of armament making or military expenditures;

Third, where the loan was for purposes of a monopoly or for assisting in establishment of a monopoly;

Fourth, where the loan was to be made to a country which had not yet definitely funded its obligations to the United States Treasury.

The hearings by the Committee on Finance are continuing indefinitely.

Lame Duck Resolution

Senate, by a vote of 63 to 7, passed the resolution offered by Senator George W. Norris, Nebraska, R., for an amendment to the Constitution changing the date of the meeting of Congress, generally known as the "Lame Duck" resolution. The resolution provides that Congress shall meet on January 2 of each year, thereby abolishing the system under which a Representative serves during the short session after the elections. Terms of the President and Vice-President would begin on January 15, following their election instead of March 4.

The resolution has passed the Senate seven times but has always failed of passage in the House. Most of the Democratic members of the House have usually favored the resolution and it is considered to have a better chance of passage at this session than for many years. Since the resolution provides for a change in the United States Constitution, a two-thirds vote in each branch is required.

Maternity and Infancy Legislation

House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce reported to the House, H R 7525, introduced by Representative William B. Bankhead, Ala., D., for the creation of a Federal Health Coordinating Board.

This measure is virtually identical with the Cooper bill introduced in the last session of Congress, known as the Maternity and Infancy Bill, as far as its administrative features are concerned. The proposed Board, under the provisions of the Bankhead bill, would consist of the Surgeon General of the Public Health Service, chairman, the chief of the Childrens' Bureau of the Department of Labor, and the Commissioner of Education of the Department of the Interior.

The rural health provisions of the bill would be administered by the Public Health Service and the maternity and infancy provisions by the Childrens' Bureau. The annual appropriations asked for begin with \$2,000,000 for the next fiscal year and continue to increase progressively until a total of \$4,000,000 per year is reached. The bill is on the Union Calendar of the House.

Oil

over the oil industry, which marked the closing days of the last session, has not arisen in Congress so far, except for the introduction of a number of bills for a tariff or embargo on foreign oils and resolutions for the investigation of foreign ownership of oil fields.

Representatives of all phases of the controversy are

Representatives of all phases of the controversy are in Washington and it is expected that after the House Committee on Ways and Means has disposed of the tax bill efforts will be made to have the committee consider an oil tariff bill.

Developments have not reached the point, however, where anything approaching an accurate estimate can be made as to the outcome.

Prohibition

On January 21, the Senate, by a vote of 55 to 15, defeated a resolution offered by Senator Hiram Bingham, Connecticut, R., asking

governors to hold referenda to determine prohibition or anti-prohibition sentiment in their states. Eight Republicans and seven Democrats voted for the resolution. Against the resolution were 26 Republicans and 28 Democrats and 1 Farmer Labor.

In the meantime the subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Manufacturers which has been holding hearings on Senator Bingham's bill to legalize 4 per cent beer has concluded its work and will shortly report to the full committee.

On February 16, the House Committee on the Judiciary will take up for consideration the proposal of the antiprohibitionists in the House for an amendment to the Constitution, to be ratified by state conventions, which would give the states control over liquor. It is expected that this proposal will be considered by the committee in executive session.

So far there is no definite indication of a test vote on prohibition in the House. Should any of the bills proposed by the anti-prohibitionists be held in committee more than thirty days without action, a petition, signed by 145 Members of the House, will force the bill out on the floor of the House. In this event the House, under the new rules, would then vote as to whether to consider the bill. If the House voted not to consider it, the bill would then be sent back to committee and the decision as to whether it would be brought out again would rest with the committee for the remainder of the session, since the same bill could not again be called out by petition.

Radio

THE Senate, on January 9 passed S. Res. 129, introduced by Senator James Couzens, Mich., R., calling upon the Federal Trade Commission for a report on the use of advertising over the radio. The Commission promptly replied to the request by sending out a questionnaire to all radio broadcasting stations, calling for complete reports on the use of those stations for advertising; the amount of money charged, etc. It is anticipated that at least two months will elapse before the answers will all be received and several weeks longer before the report on them can be compiled by the Commission and sent to the Senate.

On January 21 the House Committee on Merchant Marine, Radio and Fisheries reported H. R. 7716, amending the Radio Act of 1927. The amendments cover the administrative features of the existing law.

Railroads

THE order of the Interstate Commerce Commission granting an increase in railroad rates; the inclusion of the railroads among those to receive aid from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and the possibility of an agreement between the railroad executives and the employes relative to a decrease in wages all combine to reduce pressure of Congress for immediate railroad legislation.

The House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce, however, has reported a resolution asking for an appropriation of \$50,000 to make an investigation of the railroad situation with a view to framing legislation which will strengthen the railroads.

Representative Sam Rayburn, Texas, D., has introduced a bill amending the recapture provision of the Interstate Commerce Act, under which a portion of excess profits of railroads are payable to the Government.

Senator James M. Couzens has introduced a resolution calling on the Interstate Commerce Commission to study and report on the establishment of a six-day week for railroad employes.

Silver

ALL manner of bills and joint resolutions have been introduced in both branches of Congress covering the silver problem. They range from the measure presented by Senator Burton K. Wheeler, Mont., D., for the free and unlimited coinage of silver at the ratio of 16 to 1 to the calling of an international conference to stabilize silver. Others that have been presented are those providing that foreign debts shall be paid in silver and for an investigation of the cause of the present depressed value of silver.

Representatives of the western mining interests are preparing to exert pressure on Congress for action on the question but their plans have not yet become crystallized. Their main efforts so far have been directed toward obtaining a thorough Congressional investigation of the subject.

Tariff

House passed the tariff bill, reported by the Democratic majority of the Committee on Ways and Means. It was referred, in the Senate, to the Committee on Finance, and is there awaiting action.

The bill makes no attempt to deal with existing tariff rates but deals entirely with admistrative features. The principal change is in the provision of the existing law that upon recommendation of the Tariff Commission the President may raise a tariff rate up to 50 per cent of the existing rate. The new bill provides that the Commission report to the President but that the President must transmit that report to Congress, which shall decide upon any change in rates.

The purport of the bill is set forth in a statement by the Democratic Policy Committee, composed of Democratic leaders of the House and Senate, issued on January 4, when the bill was completed by the House Committee on Ways and Means: This statement, in part, follows:

"Under the situation which prevails with respect to legislation, namely, the Democrats being in a majority in the House, the Republicans being in control of the Senate and the Presidency, it is believed by the Committee that the most practical and helpful results relating to the tariff to be accomplished at this time may be brought about through the enactment of a bill incorporating what is known as the Simmons' amendment, altering the powers and duties of the Tariff Commission so as to authorize investigations initiated by the Commission or on application of interested parties with a view to the modification of duties so as to equalize the difference in the cost of production of domestic and foreign articles when produced in the principal competing country or countries.

"Bills carrying into effect the reports of the Commission to include only such items as are embraced in the report, the Commission to take into account the differences in conditions of production, including wages, cost of materials, and other items, costs of transportation, containers and covers, differences in packing in containers, differences in wholesale selling prices in the principal markets of the United States in so far as such prices are indicative of costs of production, advantages granted foreign producers by their governments and any other ad-

vantages or disadvantages by increase or decrease in a definite determinable amount the total cost for which domestic or foreign articles may be delivered in the principal markets of the United States.

"The bill also embraces a provision for the creation of a consumers counsel of the United States Tariff Commis-

sion and other provisions.

"Section 4 looks to the lowering of excessive tariff duties and the elimination of discrimination and other unfair trade practices, and other economic barriers affecting international trade and finance. It authorizes and invites an international economic conference to be called by the President for the promotion of these purposes.

"The Committee does not undertake at this time a further or complete definition of policy respecting tariffs."

The bill was passed by the House with slight amenda

The bill was passed by the House with slight amendments by a vote of 214 to 182. It is expected to pass the Senate after a sharp contest, with prospects of being vetoed by the President.

Taxes

THE House Committee on Ways and Means, on January 20, was continuing its hearings on proposed tax legislation. It is expected that the hearings will continue until February 1, or later, when the committee will begin preparation of a bill, the purpose of which will be to raise enough revenue to balance the Federal budget. No definite program on the part of the Democratic leaders in the House as to the form of taxation to be levied has as yet been announced.

Unemployment

Senate Committee on Manufactures, of which Senator Robert M. La Follette, Wisconsin, Republican, is chairman, ordered a favorable report on S. 3045, for unemployment aid. This bill is a composite measure worked out by a subcommittee of the Committee on Manufactures from bills previously introduced by Senator La Follette and Senator Costigan of Colorado, Democrat.

The bill provides for an appropriation of \$375,000,000, no more than \$125,000,000 of which is to be spent during the current fiscal year. It establishes a Federal emergency relief board, of which the head of the Childrens' Bureau of the Department of Labor is to be a member. This bureau is charged with the administration of the act, the funds provided to be distributed among the states on a population basis, through agencies designated by the states.

In the meantime the special committee appointed at the last session by the Senate to report on unemployment insurance has completed its hearings and is at work on the preparation of a report to the Senate. Senator Felix Hebert, Rhode Island, Republican, is chairman of this special committee.

Veterans

annual pension bills, efforts for action on veterans' relief legislation are more or less at a standstill in both houses of Congress. With rigid economy the order of the day pressure on the part of veterans' organizations has lightened and until Congress has disposed of the general program for financial reconstruction all matters relating to veterans will be held back.

The Students' Question Box

This Month: George Washington

To care for the many questions coming to the Digest office from subscribers, "The Students' Question Box" is now a regular monthly department. Answers to the questions received since lest month on Congress and the Federal Government will appear in our next issue.

Q. Who were the members of Washington's first cabi-

A. Secretary of State, Thomas Jefferson (Va.); Secretary of the Treasury, Alexander Hamilton (N. Y.); Secretary of War, Henry Knox (Mass.); Attorney General, Edmund Randolph (Va.); Postmaster General, Samonard Mass. Osgood (Mass.), succeeded by Timothy Pickering (Mass.).

Q. Did Washington ever leave the shores of America? A. M.

A. Once. In 1751, when he was nineteen, he accompanied his half-brother Lawrence to the Barbadoes, where the latter went for his health.

Q. Why is the official residence of the President of the United States in Washington called "The White House"? G. N.

A. It is so called, in honor of Martha Washington whose home, when she married George Washington was "The White House" in New Kent County, near Williamsburg, Va. At the time Theodore Roosevelt became President the official stationery of the President was engraved:
"Executive Mansion." Roosevelt ordered it changed to
"The White House" and this has been the official title ever since.

Q. Did Washington have anything to do with the creation of the Constitution of the United States? E. F.

A. He served as president of the Convention which framed our Constitution, (See article in this number.)

Q. Was President Washington the first occupant of the White House? M. B.

A. Washington never lived in the White House. While President he lived in New York and Philadelphia. President John Adams was the first to occupy the White House.

Q. Did President Washington attend the inauguration of his successor, John Adams? R. P.

A. Yes. The inauguration of Adams, the Second President, took place in Philadelphia.

Q. Did Washington accept a salary as President of the United States? J. J. P.

A. Before Washington was inaugurated Congress passed an Act fixing the salary of the President at \$25,000 a year. Washington, not wishing to set a precedent of refusing this salary, which might embarrass later Presidents who did not happen to be wealthy, accepted it with the statement that he would use it for expenses. He had

declined to receive any pay as Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary army, except for expenses incurred by him. In appreciation of his military services the Virginia Legislature, in 1785, voted him shares in two navigation companies, the total value of which was \$40,000. Washington informed the Legislature he would accept the gift only upon the understanding that he be permitted to appropriate the shares to public use. One hundred of these shares were given to Liberty Hall Academy, in Rockbridge county, Virginia, now Washington and Lee University at Lexington. The remainder he put in trust to be used for a National University if Congress should establish one.

Q. On what date did Washington receive officially the Declaration of Independence? A. O.

A. On July 9, 1776, from the Continental Congress. At six o'clock that night the regiments were paraded and the document read to them.

Q. What churches did Washington attend regularly? H. F.

A. Christ Church in Alexandria and Pohick Church near Mt. Vernon. Both were Episcopalian.

Q. Is anything known of Washington's very early ancestry, prior to the English vein?

A. The family tree of the Washingtons has been traced back to a Scandinavian origin.

Q. Did Washington own Mount Vernon at the time of his marriage? N. R.

A. Yes. He had been its owner for seven years.

Q. How old was Washington when he came into possession of Mount Vernon? G. E. B.

A. Twenty. He inherited it by the will of his halfbrother Lawrence.

Q. How did Mount Vernon get its name? M. J.

A. Lawrence Washington, George Washington's older half-brother, who built the house at Mount Vernon, named it in honor of Admiral Vernon, of the English navy, with whom Lawrence Washington served in naval campaigns in the West Indies, 1741-42.

Q. Who owns Mount Vernon today? R. C.

A. In his will George Washington left Mount Vernon to his nephew, Bushrod Washington, son of John Augustine Washington, providing that his widow, Martha Washington, have full use of it, together with the rest of his estate, during her lifetime. From Bushrod Washington it descended to his son, Colonel John Augustine Washington, of the Confederate army, who, as aid to Gen. Robert E. Lee, was killed near Cheat Mountain, Va., September, 1861. September, 1861.

In 1855 Mrs. Ann Pamela Cunningham and other Virginia women started a movement to purchase 200 acres of Mount Vernon, including the house and boat landing. A bill incorporating "The Mount Vernon Ladies Association of the Union" was passed by the Virginia Assembly March 17, 1856, and amended March 19, 1858. It authorized the organization to purchase and care for Mount Vernon. If the organization should at any time cease to exist, the property reverts to the State of Virginia. The estate today consists of about 200 acres, with buildings. A small admission fee, not exceeding 25 cents, was fixed by the Virginia Legislature. This fee is used for maintenance.

- Q. Who was Washington's official secretary? C. H. M.
- A. Tobias Lear.

Q. How did Washington regard slavery? S. J. S.

A. In September, 1786, he wrote John F. Mercer of Virginia: "I never mean, unless some particular circumstances should compel me to it, to possess another slave by purchase, it being among my first wishes to see some plan by which slavery in this country may be abolished by law."

In August, 1797, he wrote his nephew, Lawrence Lewis: "I wish from my soul that the Legislature of this State could see the policy of a gradual abolition of slavery. It might prevent much future mischief."

His will provided that upon the death of his wife all the slaves be held in his own right should be set free. Since they were intermarried with the slaves owned by Mrs. Washington, to set his free before her death, he declared in his will, would "be attended with such insuperable difficulties as to excite the most painful sensations."

- Q. Did Washington have a hobby? R. L.
- A. According to his frequent statements, his chief delight was in "agricultural affairs."
 - Q. How did Washington invest his money? M. L.
- A. He kept his money working in various ways, usually in real estate transactions. In a letter he said, "It is not a custom with me to keep money to look at."
- Q. How were the Washingtons addressed after he became President? W. B. S.
- A. They were called The President and Mrs. Washington, although some wanted to say His Excellency and Lady Washington.
- Q. Where did the Washingtons live when they first went to New York?
- A. At No. 3 Cherry Street, near what is now one of the piers of Brooklyn Bridge.
- Q. Did Colonel Washington retire from the army before his marriage? R. P.
- A. Yes, he resigned his commission and retired from the army in December, 1758, and was married January 6, 1759.
- Q. Was Mrs. Washington a widow when she married Colonel Washington? E. N.
- A. Yes. She was the widow of John Parke Custis, who left her with two children and a fortune in money and lands.

- Q. Has official etiquette of Washington's time survived? G. L.
- A. All our official forms began in the first Administra-
- Q. Were there shops in the time of Washington?
- A. None of any importance until 1790, when Robert Whiteside of London opened an up-to-date establishment in Philadelphia.
- Q. Where did Washington buy his necessary supplies?
- A. Up to 1790 he bought them principally from Robert Cary, Ltd., London.
- Q. Did Washington ever receive a surveyor's commission? C. K. E.
- A. Yes. From William and Mary College, Williamsburg, Va., in 1749.
- Q. Did General Washington ever receive a college degree? G. T. R.
- A. He had five degrees bestowed upon him. Yale University bestowed the degree of LL.D. April 26, 1781.
- Q. Was Washington rated as a man of wealth? C. T. R.
- A. Yes. He possessed, in addition to Mount Vernon, extensive land holdings principally in Pennsylvania. His wife brought him an additional fortune. At the time of his death he was rated the third richest man in America.
- Q. Did Washington have any children of his own? D. R.
- A. No. He married Martha Dandridge Custis, the widow of John Parke Custis, of New Kent County, near Williamsburg, Va. She had two children by her first husband, John Parke Custis and Martha Custis. The girl, Martha, died at Mount Vernon at seventeen years of age. Upon his sister's death the son, John Parke Custis, returned to Mount Vernon from King's College, New York, and shortly afterward married Eleanor Calvert.

When the war for Independence broke out young John Parke Custis entered the army. He was an aide to General Washington at Yorktown, where he contracted camp fever and died. George Washington thereupon adopted the two youngest children of John Parke Curtis (Eleanor Parke Custis and George Washington Parke Custis), grandchildren of Martha Washington. This Eleanor Parke Custis was the "Nellie Custis" who was part of Washington's household when he was President. She married one of Washington's favorite nephews, Lawrence Lewis, at Mount Vernon on February 22, 1799, the last birthday celebrated by the Father of his Country. George Washington Parke Custis was educated by George Washington.

"Nellie" Custis Jewis was left 2,000 acres of the Mount Vernon estate. To George Washington Parke Custis was left 1,200 acres of land "on four mile Run," on which the Lee Mansion, Arlington, was later built, and a lot in the City of Washington. "Arlington," after the death of George Washington Parke Custis, descended to his daughter, who was the wife of Gen'l Robert E. Lee.

The following article is the first of a series of consecutive articles in which all phases of House and Senate procedure will be described. The articles are being prepared with the aid of the leading parliamentary authorities at the Capital, including members of both the Senate and the House and officers of those two bodies.

Before tracing, step by step, the progress of a bill through the two houses of the Congress of the United States it is essential that we know what a bill is. And in order to be clear on that point it may be helpful for us to turn our thought backward several centuries to the latter part of the Eighth Century, A. D., when the Northmen—the Saxons, Angles and other Teutonic tribes—invaded the British Isles, bringing with them, as part and parcel of their tribal customs, the germ of what later became the British Parliamentary System on which our present-day legislative system is founded.

While the Northmen had their kings, princes and chieftains, their powers were limited. Historians find that, even in their most remote periods, despotism was unknown to these tribes. Now and again a despot would arise and retain control for a brief period, but he was always overthrown in the end. He was never accepted with anything approaching docility.

By the time the Northmen reached England their councils of elders, heads of families or chiefs of small groups were regularly consulted by the king or prince on matters of importance to the tribe as a whole.

The principal council was the witengemot, or "wise men", from which the British Parliament was finally developed.

Formal meetings were held and at these meetings these councils of elders, or "wise men" made requests or petitions to the king. From these petitions, verbal in the first instance, grew the legislative bills of today. For a bill is merely a form of petition.

In the latter part of the Thirteenth Century, Simon de Montfort, Earl of Leicester, led a revolt against Henry III, promising if successful to establish a parliament, which he did in 1286. It was not until 1295, however, that the real fruits of this rebellion were reaped and Edward I, himself, summoned to a parliament two knights from each shire or county, elected by the free-holders at the shire court; and two burgesses from every city, borough or leading town, elected by their fellows.

The principle of representation was thus established and in 1297 was strengthened by the adoption of the Magna Charta which provided that the people could not be taxed without their consent. Edward I was forced to agree to this because he needed revenues. Until 1430, in the reign of Henry VI, the Commons, in Parliament,

could petition the King to establish a law. If he agreed, the petition was enrolled by the judges and became law.

If he did not agree that was the end of it. The earls and barons, constituting the House of Lords, were not numerous and were mostly connected by blood with the royal family or were for other reasons subject to the influence of the king, so that actual law making was under the control of the crown. Gradually, by constant fighting, the Commons obtained virtually their present rights and real popular representation was established.

Naturally, in the growth of parliamentary procedure, definite methods of legislation had to be established and finally the right of petition was represented in the filing, in a legislative body, of what is now known as a "bill".

Again we will cast our thought backward and find the origin of this term. It appears to come from the Latin word, "bulla", which means, roughly, anything round. From this word was derived the French word "bille" or cylinder. Originally a written petition was wrapped about a round or cylindrical stick and presented to the king, hence the term.

Thus, every bill introduced in Congress represents a petition. Sometimes a Senator or a Representative introduces a bill as the result of a petition from an individual or a group. When a Senator or a Representative introduces a bill on his own initiative or at the request of his constituents, he is actually petitioning Congress to enact it into a law. The Constitution of the United States gives to every citizen the right of petition. Every day Congress is in session written petitions are received. A glance at the Congressional Record of January 9, 1932, shows that on that date ten petitions were received by the House and referred to committees. The last petition recorded on that date bore the number 327, showing that 327 petitions had been received by the House since Congress convened on December 7, 1931. These petitions, however, are not bills. They do not become bills unless drafted into bill form and introduced by a member of the House or Senate. The right of petition will be discussed later when we consider the work of the committees of the House and Senate.

Usually the introduction of a bill in either house of Congress is the result of a demand voiced by the constituents of a Senator or a Representative or by the constituents of many Senators and Representatives, as is the case with the present demands for agricultural legislation, veterans' legislation, etc.

But it may be well to begin with a comparatively small group of citizens, the inhabitants of a town of, say, 10,000 inhabitants. The town lies along side a navigable river and the use of automobiles has so increased that the one bridge across the river is inadequate to take care of the traffic. The town folks want to build another bridge at county expense. They have voted the necessary taxes or bond issue, as the case may be, and have the money in sight.

But the Federal Government controls all navigable streams under the Constitution of the United States. Therefore, the town people cannot build a bridge across their stream without the permission of the Federal Government. How do they obtain that permission? Under the Constitution they have their own, legally elected Representatives in Congress—one Representative in the House of Representatives from the Congressional District in which their town is situated, and two in the Senate, representing their state.

Usually they call upon their Representative in the first instance and ask him to introduce a bill giving them permission to build the bridge. The Representative readily agrees and, as soon as Congress convenes, if it is not already in session, he prepares and introduces the bill. His first act, if he is experienced, is to obtain a form and

fill it in.

At noon, after the House has been called to order for the day, or at any time thereafter while the House is in session, the Representative takes the bill with him to the floor of the House and drops it into a large basket on the desk of the Clerk of the House in front of the Speaker's desk. The Member does not have to do this personally; he may hand the bill to a page boy or other employee of the House and ask him to drop it into the basket.

The method of introducing a bill in the Senate differs from the House method. In the Senate, a Senator, when introducing a bill must rise, obtain recognition from the presiding officer and announce that he desires to introduce a bill, the purpose of which he states. He then hands the bill to a page boy who takes it to the Vice President's desk, where it goes through practically the same procedure of reference to committee as in the House.

Assistant clerks in the employ of the Clerk of the House are busy all day with the bills as they are dropped into the basket, or "hopper" as it is unofficially designated.

They number each bill as it comes along, record its introduction and refer it to the committee having jurisdiction over it. Thus the bill granting the town folk authority to erect a bridge across a navigable stream is referred, in the House, to the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce.

Under the rules of the House bills must be referred to committee by the Speaker. As a matter of procedure, however, this is done under the direction of the Parliamentarian, a clerk at the Speaker's desk, acting for the Speaker. Whenever a bill appears, concerning the reference of which there is the slightest doubt, the Parliamentarian presents it to the Speaker, who personally orders it to the committee to which he considers it belongs.

Before the bill leaves the hands of these clerks the committee reference is recorded across its face. It then goes to the Government Printing Office, where a number of copies are printed and sent to the Document Room in the Capitol Building. A supply of these copies is placed in the committee to which it is referred. The title of the bill, with its number, and the name of the committee to which it has been referred is also printed in the Congressional Record of the day on which it was introduced.

The bill is then ready to start on its progress through the House committee, back to the House for consideration; passage by the House; thence to be sent to the Senate, where it is referred to a Senate committee; through the Senate committee back to the floor of the Senate: passed by the Senate; signed by the Vice President and the Speaker of the House; passed upon by the Committee on Enrolled Bills; sent to the White House and signed by the President,

We will next follow our bridge bill into the House Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce and see what happens to it there.

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